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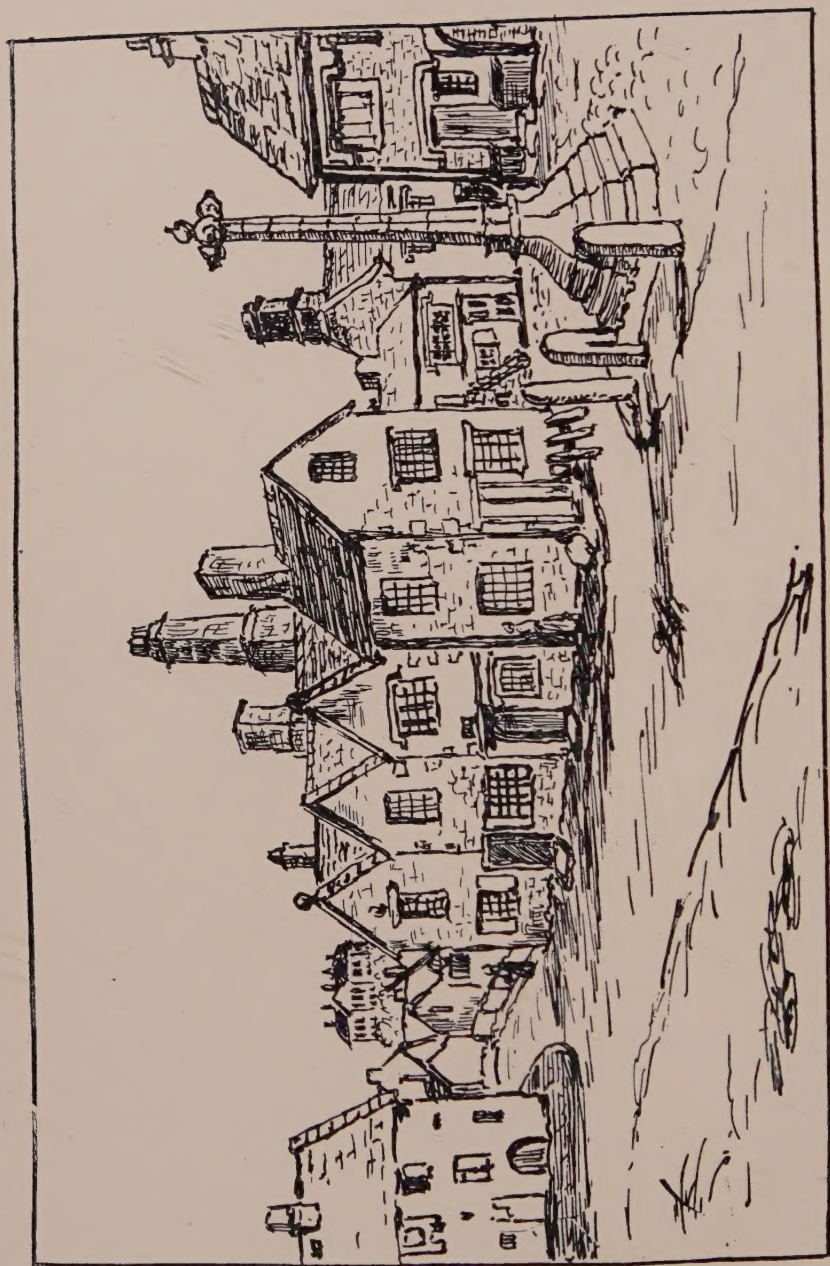
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The ancient Market Place (about 1800).



The
History of Burnley
from 1850

By W. BENNETT, M.A.

1951.

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Preface.

This book deals with the development of Burnley during the last hundred years. The abundance of material relating to all aspects of the complex and varied life of the people and town has made the question of selection immensely difficult. In general, more details have been given for the period 1850-1900 than for the succeeding years. This course has been adopted because the relative importance of contemporary events cannot be assessed with any degree of certainty; moreover, the facts of the last fifty years are so generally well known that anything more than a list of them seems unnecessary. The files of Burnley newspapers have provided nearly all the information, and therefore footnotes to the text have been given only when the material has been privately supplied.

Once more it is a great pleasure to express my warmest thanks to those who have helped me in any way, and particularly to my wife for her co-operation and patience during the years I have spent in compiling material and writing this history, and to Dr. G. H. Tupling, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. W. Stuttard, B.A., and Mr. G. A. Wood, M.A. for valuable advice, criticism and help in many ways. Among others, to whom I am much indebted, are Mr. L. Lang for the illustrations, the Trustees of Salmesbury Hall for permission to publish the Rev. S. J. Allen's drawing of the ancient Market Place, Mr. Caul and Mr. Burton of the Central Library, Mr. Tomlinson of Towneley Hall, Mr. R. B. Watson, J.P., and Mr. P. Crabtree.

Finally, I desire to express my deep gratitude to the Burnley Borough Council for completing the publication of this *History of Burnley* and for their unfailing support of my work.

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CHAPTER I.

Burnley, 1850 - 1870.

The middle of the 19th century may be regarded as the beginning of another phase in the development of Burnley. Since 1780 the town had experienced a remarkable expansion of industry reflected in the many new factories, warehouses, foundries and workshops, while hundreds of houses had been built to accommodate the increased population. Unfortunately, there had been no town planning schemes to regulate the rapid growth of new building, whether of mills or dwelling houses, and therefore no attention had been paid to the needs of the future. The factories, almost in the heart of the town, became centres round which were built congested back-to-back houses with dirty, narrow, unpaved courts and alleys; nuisances of every description were prevalent and sanitation hardly existed. The main streets were narrow and often had a squalid appearance. Many of the lower working classes were brutalised by their environment; drunkenness and vice were common, while low wages, unemployment and frequent epidemics produced general discontent.

Such an appalling state of affairs in 1850 roused both pity and indignation in the town as a whole, and soon, with the spread of education, the influence of religious bodies, and the efforts of the Improvement Commissioners, Town Council and town officials important changes were effected. Nuisances were abated, building plans were regulated by the authorities, and supplies of water and gas were extended. In fact, within a very short time after 1850, the first efforts were made to introduce those amenities to which Burnley is now accustomed.

STREETS.

In 1850, the main thoroughfare, known as Church Street, Blucher Street, St. James' Street, and Westgate bore little resemblance to the present highway. It was then a long, narrow and irregular street lined with buildings of every type including mills, warehouses, stables, slaughter houses, pigsties, shops, wooden huts and dwelling houses. At six points, buildings projected so far into the street that carts could not pass one another; these bottle-necks were situated opposite the present Empress Dance Hall, where the roadway was only five yards wide, the Boot Inn, the Clock Face, the White Horse, near the Victoria Theatre, and near Brown Street. Improvements were made in 1858 near the White Horse, where projecting buildings were bought and demolished by the

Commissioners to widen the roadway; in 1864 a similar improvement was made in Blucher Street. The most important and extensive alterations of this period were those carried out in 1865 at the bottom of Market Street, renamed Manchester Road in May 1867. As early as 1858, when the owners of the Red Lion had begun to make alterations, the Commissioners proposed to improve the appearance of the area by the erection of a clock tower, which was to be one hundred feet in height. That scheme was abandoned, but Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth presented a drinking fountain to be placed near the gas standard, the "Gawmless," while on the tower of his mill in Sandygate George Slater provided a town clock which was illuminated at the public cost of £20. In 1865, the Corporation, having spent £2,700 on the purchase of the land and buildings of the Red Lion, demolished the Inn with its tap room in Red Lion Street and three adjoining small shops. The suggestion was then made that the land should be used as the site of a Town Hall, but it was eventually used to widen Manchester Road from 26 feet to 52 feet. The Red Lion was rebuilt on its present site.

The sewerage, paving and flagging went forward very slowly, so that complaints about "pools of mud" and "clayey ruts" in the street were still quite common. The governing authorities were naturally concerned about the cost of repairs, and argued that it would be foolish to spend money on making roadways before the streets were fully built-up. Manchester Road, for example, had pavements for only a short distance, and it was not until 1855 that street crossings were made from Red Lion Street to Bull Street and from Grimshaw Street to Hargreaves Street. Three years later, "sets" of millstone grit were laid from the Red Lion to "Lomas' Warehouse" and in 1861 continued to Elizabeth Street. A proposal to macadamise the whole road was rejected on account of the expense.

In the areas that were in process of development, such as the Park, Fulfilledge, and Stoneyholme, all the Corporation seems to have done was to level the roadways and occasionally to make a pavement. In the districts that were more or less built-up such as the Meadows, Crow Nest and Finsley, draining, sewerage, paving and flagging were undertaken, but progress was very slow. To judge by the frequency of the complaints, Trafalgar Street was easily the worst in the township. Among the more outstanding achievements of the surveyor's department were the completion of Parker Lane, Albion Street, and Plumbe Street in 1864, and of Godley Lane 1867. Drainage problems in Fulfilledge and Curzon Street seemed almost insurmountable.

Road surfaces showed a wide variety. Cobble stones were used opposite St. Peter's in Church Street, and possibly in some parts of St. James' Street; the same type of surface was to be found in Hargreaves Street, where the trustees of the Wesleyan Chapel asked the Corporation in 1868 to take up the "boulders" and replace them with "sets" in order to reduce the noise during divine service. Half the width of the road at Westgate had a cobble stone paving, but the other half was left "rough." After 1860, millstone grit sets were more commonly used and deeper road foundations were made. Streets that were built up but were not very important for traffic were occasionally repaired with gravel and loose stones until they could be properly sewered and paved. Side streets were in the care of the property owners, which in many cases meant that nothing was done to them.

BRIDGES.

The building of new bridges and the widening of old ones was a constant source of worry and expense. The bridge in Hammerton Street was built soon after 1850, and the old one in Parker Lane was replaced by a new and much wider one in 1856. The value of the bridge in Bridge Street was much reduced by the mill dam, which blocked all vehicular traffic, except that which passed through private land to the Parsonage Mill and the Brewery. The bridge was strengthened and widened however, and "the battlements on the western side" were taken down, while a grant of land to the Corporation made by Messrs. Spencer and Moore enabled a better approach to be made to Bank Parade through Keighley Green. The Calder Bridge in Manchester Road was widened to 14 yards in 1858 at a cost of £200, and in the next year £60 was spent on widening the bridge in Cow Lane which was "only 10 feet wide and having battlements so low that a man might walk over them." In 1861 the Orchard Bridge was rebuilt, and two years later attention had to be paid to the very important bridge near the Mitre. This bridge was far too narrow for the increased traffic, and the surveyor asked for £551 to cover the cost of the alterations; he later reduced his estimate to £180 and the bridge was widened. As the Canal Bridge in Colne Road was only 8 yards wide, and therefore too narrow to accommodate the traffic that was expected from the Bankhall Colliery, it was decided in 1866 to increase the width of the bridge and adjacent road to 14 yards. In the same year attention was directed to the need for easy access to Keighley Green from Church Street. It was pointed out that there had been an ancient right of way over stepping stones across the Brun at the bottom of Rakefoot, by a pathway on which the Parsonage Mill had been built. The owners of the

Mill replied that the pathway had been closed with the consent of the landlord to whom they had paid compensation, and that it was dangerous for their workers, particularly the children, to cross the stepping stones; nevertheless they offered to give land for the building of a bridge. The surveyor estimated that the bridge, 6 feet wide and 80 feet long, would cost £290 if made of red deal, and £600 if made of iron. The Corporation accepted the latter estimate, and apparently in 1867 the iron "Police Bridge" was constructed. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Fulledge sent in petitions for a bridge in Oxford Road, workers asked for canal bridges between Trafalgar Street and the Meadows, and between Healey Wood and Lane Bridge, while business men demanded a road bridge to replace the wooden footbridge at the bottom of Standish Street.

HOUSES.

As trade expanded and more and more factories and workshops were built, the number of dwelling houses proportionately increased, from 5,000 in 1850 to more than 9,000 in 1870. The growth of industry may be seen from the fact that in 1860, which was not an exceptional year, there were in the course of erection a corn mill, three cotton mills, seven weaving sheds, a foundry and a size works. Most of the new housing sites were in Stoneyholme, the Park, Fulledge, and the Accrington Road districts. Fortunately the Improvement Act of 1854 had given the Commissioners powers to control building and therefore the new areas were developed according to a definite plan, and though the monotony of the new streets may seem at the present time a very undesirable feature, the houses themselves were much in advance of those of the older type. The building regulations for the new property insisted that each house should have its own separate privy or water-closet, ash-pit and backyard, that it should be sewered, and that there should be a minimum height in each room; restrictions were imposed on the building of hen-cotes and pig-sties in the backyards. The erection of back-to-back property had become a thing of the past.

Burnley's difficulties, therefore, lay not with the building of new property, but with the improvement of the old, which could not satisfy even the least exacting requirements of a progressive sanitary authority. Back-to-back houses existed in all the older built-up areas—Finsley, Wapping, Hill Top, the Park, Salford and the Meadows. Rows of houses, up to twenty in number, joined in the use of one or two privies and ashpits situated at the end of a row; few of them had taps, and as there was scarcely any domestic drainage, passers-by in the street complained of waste water being thrown out

from doors and windows. Housewives (and husbands), who lived in this type of property, complained that the bye-laws forbade the drying of clothes in the streets. The alleys, courts, and back streets with which the buildings were honeycombed were unpaved, and generally filthy with litter and putrefying garbage. Tenement houses with their overcrowded rooms were possibly a degree worse than the back-to-back property, and those tenements near the water suffered from offensive smells that arose in the houses themselves, and from the rivers which were described as "open sewers." The worst type of house was the cellar dwelling, damp, devoid of light and fresh air, and subject to flooding. Many cellar dwellings were condemned as unfit for habitation early in this period, but even in 1867 there were 298 in existence with nearly 1,000 persons living in them. Of these cellars, 151 had no taps and no drainage, 133 were less than seven feet in height, 9 had neither ashpit nor privy, and an unstated number had ceilings less than 6 inches above the level of the roadway. When Woodtop and Gannow became part of Burnley in 1871, the number of cellar dwellings was increased to nearly 400, many of which were inhabited by families of six to ten persons, though the usual size of a "single room cellar" was generally only 5 yards square.

To add to the difficulties, dwelling houses in the older areas were inextricably mixed up with factories, workshops, slaughterhouses, stables and pigsties. In one small area of the Park that covered 268 square yards, there were five cottages with five cellar dwellings, a warehouse over the cottages, a one storey factory, and a stable; in the adjacent plot of 139 square yards there were six back-to-back houses with six cellar dwellings, and a large stable. In Roberts Place (Wapping) there was a cowshed with no drainage situated among squalid houses; while instances, too numerous to mention, are recorded of the keeping of pigs and poultry in back premises or even in cellars, and the use of a wooden building in some narrow court as a slaughter house.

In 1875, out of 9,285 houses in the Borough, 3,484 were "single," i.e. back-to-back houses and cellars. These were situated in the wards of St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. James's, and Trinity. In St. Paul's Ward there were two "single" houses to one "double," i.e. with through ventilation; in the more recently built St. Andrew's Ward, there was one "single" to eleven "double" houses.

The authorities tackled the housing problem as energetically as they could, but until 1854 they had little power to enforce alterations. In that year, however, all the

worst cellars in Finsleygate were condemned and nineteen were ordered to be drained. One of these cellars had "walls black with filthy water running down them and an open sewer in front of the door." Many prosecutions were brought against tenants of the newer houses for having cotes, huts, etc. in the back premises; and against builders for erecting houses without the requisite backyards as shown on the plans. In 1868 slaughterhouses had to be registered and licences were withheld if the premises were unsatisfactory. Furthermore, the Council's Inspector of Nuisances and the Board of Guardians' officers began to pay frequent visits to the worst parts of the town, and many dwelling houses and lodging houses were ordered to be "thoroughly whitewashed with best Clitheroe lime."

HEALTH.

In 1850-1870, sanitation, as we know it today, hardly existed. In the older and poorer districts of the town, waste water from the houses was thrown into the streets or emptied into slopstones, if such existed, to find its way either to a cesspool that was cleaned out once a week, or to one of the open sewers that eventually drained into the Brun or Calder. Particularly in congested areas, open sewers were a constant menace to health, and in Muschamp Yard, for example, four children died in one house during the same week from English cholera and scarlatina "encouraged by nauseous odours from the open drain in front of the house." In these same districts in 1869, and after many improvements had been insisted upon, there were only 2,250 privies for 5,500 houses, many of which were occupied by more than one family. The problem of the disposal of waste from privies was difficult, and the town authorities were only too glad to accept contracts from farmers and shut their eyes to "the intolerable nuisance" of having the work done in the daytime and not, as the bye-laws specified, during the nights of Tuesdays and Fridays. Complaints were loud and long that farmers scattered the waste on footpaths, but as these lay outside the Borough boundaries, nothing was done to meet the grievance.

In the less congested and the newly built-up districts, conditions were at first not much better. Sewage from slopstones and 500 water closets was carried by house drains either to small sewers built many years before to serve one or two cottages or to deep open drains. Even in the comparatively modern Colne Road there was a large open drain beginning near the present Library and emptying itself near Danes House to the great annoyance of the tenant there; this particular drain was a great nuisance to traffic of all descriptions as well as a danger to health. Another open sewer, 150 yards

long, ran alongside Sandygate and took the sewage of 18 houses and a shippon. Fullede residents bitterly complained of an open sewer near the present Recreation Ground.

All sewers and open drains emptied into the Brun or Calder which were assumed to carry refuse out of the town. Such however was not the case since the rivers were not always full of water and refuse often settled at the dams which had been built at various points to provide water for mill engines. Ashes, garbage and mill waste also fouled the channel. During periods of little rainfall the river beds therefore became fetid, and it was said that the stench near Bankfield Mill, where a dam had been constructed, made it imposible to cross Curzon Street bridge and rendered life unbearable in houses near the present Market Square.

The real solution of the problem lay of course in the carrying out of a properly planned sewage scheme, but all that could be done before 1870 was to find temporary remedies. Streets were sewered as soon as they were "adopted"; the worst of open drains were covered; owners of property on the river banks were ordered "to clean cauls, weirs, and other obstructions," and summonses were issued against mill owners and householders who fouled the rivers with ashes and refuse. The channel of the Brun was made deeper, paved with stones, arched over or fitted with breastworks to make the flow of water more constant.

Another detriment to good health was the enormous quantity of smoke and soot emitted from mill chimneys and lime kilns. Diseases of the lungs were all too prevalent and sufferers were not helped by living in a smoke-laden atmosphere. In addition, food exposed for sale in the shops was often ruined before it could be sold. In particular, vegetables on sale in the Victoria Market (on the site of the present Woolworth's stores) were always covered with grit and dirt from the chimney and "blow-hole" of Tunstall's Mill (on the site of the present Victoria Theatre). Lime kilns in Eastgate and Bankhouse Street added their quota to the blackness and discomfort. One or two firms, notably Brennand's, had fitted a patent device for consuming smoke, but the experiment had not been very successful, and the town government could only suggest that mills should try to avoid the nuisance as far as possible. At the same time, instructions were issued that mill chimneys should be not less than 90 feet in height.

With the smoke nuisance may be listed the very disagreeable smells that arose from certain industries. In 1865, a tallow-chandler of Water Street and Cannon Street, who had carried on his business there for 22 years, was summoned for

allowing offensive smells on his premises; he admitted the offence but claimed that it was necessary in his work to make use of decaying fats. A petition was later sent by his friends to say that the smells were not injurious, and that the neighbourhood was used to them, but a later petition from the neighbours asked the magistrates to put an end to the nuisance. A similar prosecution followed against a tallow-chandler near Calder Bridge in Manchester Road. Tanneries also came in for attention, but few prosecutions resulted, because it was considered that the odours arising from hides were unavoidable. The keeping of pigs in unsuitable premises was made illegal, and one householder in Master Street was fined 5s. for keeping a pig in a cellar, though he pleaded in extenuation that the family lived in the room above; the keeper of an "eating-house" in St. James' Street had to forego the pleasure of keeping pigs in his backyard, and the owner of a number of pigs on some vacant land behind Fulleage Wesleyan Chapel was instructed to remove them. Manure middens with their attendant flies and smells were to be found in close proximity to the many stables in the town, for this was the period of horses, and wealthy men and business firms had their carriages, carts and waggons just as today they have their motor cars and motor lorries. The town officials could do little with this form of nuisance except where the middens drained into the street; such offences occurred in Bankhouse Street, St. James' Street and School Lane.

Overcrowding was prevalent in the poorer districts, particularly in times of depression. In good times there were on the average five persons living in each house but in bad times the number rose to eight. The overcrowding was increased by the closing of cellar dwellings and it was not unusual for three or four families so displaced to live in the same house. In one case, for example, six persons of Irish extraction, whose ages ranged from 18 to 30, lived in a single room in a house near the Canal bridge in Manchester Road; the two women and four men almost lost their lives through breathing fumes from a defective stove. Lodging houses for casuals were registered and licensed, and were therefore fairly well conducted; the regulations required separate rooms for the sexes, restricted the number of persons allotted to one bed, and enforced periodic whitewashing of the rooms. Houses that catered for lodgers who paid weekly, however, were not registered, and their conditions were often unsatisfactory. Many of them were overcrowded and became the haunts of men and women of low moral character. Unfortunately, magistrates had no power to order them to be closed unless neighbours protested against the noise, though they had the power to punish the owners for harbouring undesirable persons.

In spite of the existence of so many nuisances that would never be tolerated at the present time, the general health of the town was regarded as fairly satisfactory, though the authorities were by no means complacent about it. The congested areas were never free from disease, and at times there were epidemics that assumed alarming proportions. For example, during the first half of 1852, which was a normal year, there were some 546 deaths, of which 96 were due to infectious diseases—30 from smallpox, 23 from typhus, 23 from measles, and 20 from scarlatina. In 1853 a severe cholera epidemic broke out among the Irish element in Finsleygate, and for a time the medical officers were seriously perturbed; fortunately the outbreak was of short duration. More serious were the epidemics of 1864, 1865, and 1866. In 1864 there were 900 cases of scarlet fever in Wood Top and Gannow alone, and of these 695 proved fatal, while in the last four months of 1865 Burnley had 179 fatal cases of scarlet fever. The death-rate in Burnley for 1865 was 39 per 1,000 of the population, and at that figure the town had the unenviable distinction of heading the list of districts with an increased death-rate. Cholera followed in 1866 and there were well over 1,200 cases in the township. Back Curzon Street was never free from infection though Salford and Finsleygate were described as "the blackest spots."

The mortality rate in normal years was about 30 per 1,000 of the population, but the most distressing feature was the very heavy death rate among babies and young children. In 1868 there were 835 burials and of these over 400 were of children under two years of age. The corresponding numbers for 1869 were 895 burials of which 386 were of children under two years of age. In 1872, out of 1,137 deaths in Burnley, 641 were of children under five years of age, i.e. 13% greater than in London and 23% greater than the figure for England as a whole. Among babies the commonest ailments were convulsions and diarrhoea, but young children under five were most subject to scarlet fever, measles, and lung troubles. In the opinion of medical men, the high death rate among children was due to bad sanitation, ill nourishment and lack of parental care.

RELIEF OF THE POOR.

Poor Relief was controlled by the Board of Guardians. It meant admission to the Workhouse in the case of "indoor paupers," and the provision of food-doles for "out-door paupers." In the Workhouse were housed the aged and infirm and those families which were totally destitute;

outdoor relief, in the form of "checks," given at the discretion of the relieving officers, which could be spent on groceries to be obtained at certain shops, was given to families in a state of temporary destitution. The Guardians appointed medical officers of health, and inspectors of nuisances for districts outside the Police Circle; they also supervised the apprenticeship of pauper children.

The Burnley Workhouse in Royle Road proved quite inadequate to accommodate all who could legitimately claim indoor relief, particularly in the winter months and during widespread distress such as occurred during the Cotton Famine. Moreover, vagrancy was on the increase and during 1860-70 hundreds passed through Burnley each week, of whom 150-200 had to be sheltered in the Workhouse for a limited period. In 1864 the Guardians came to the conclusion that as Royle Road Workhouse could not be extended to cope with the increased number of paupers and casuals and at the same time provide for the segregation of the sexes, another Workhouse would have to be built. They therefore recommended the erection of a building to accommodate five hundred persons, the provision of an infirmary, and the acquisition of 40-50 acres as workhouse fields and gardens; the whole was estimated to cost about £11,000. Owing to the opposition of some influential members of the Board to the cost of the scheme, nothing was done to implement the decision of the Board and discussions took place on various expedients with no satisfactory results.

The question of a new Workhouse became acute after an official report on the existing house was published in 1867. The visiting examiners reported that the men's quarters were dirty and ill-kept, and that forty men occupied a day room which was only 22 feet by 15 feet in size; in the women's day room there were only nine chairs for twelve old women; the sick wards were too small and beds were occasionally put up in the passages; infectious cases were sent to a small house in Wapping (a most congested area) and little or no provision was made for mental cases. A later Report to the President of the Poor Law Board on conditions in English Workhouses stated that the Burnley Workhouse was in need of wholesale reforms and was unsatisfactory in matters relating to health and decency. Then began more negotiations and discussions among the Guardians, and proposals were made to build an infirmary on a new site, and new vagrancy wards either in Keighley Green or adjacent to the existing Workhouse. At last the Poor Law Board began to exert its influence, and by 1870 the Guardians had bought a site in Briercliffe Road on which to build a workhouse for 500 inmates, vagrancy wards for 300 persons, and an infirmary.

DRUNKENNESS, CRIME, Etc.

Accounts in the contemporary local newspapers concerning the prevalence of drunkenness and crime are apt to give the the impression that Burnley was one of the most profligate towns in the whole country, but Burnley was certainly no worse than other Lancashire towns, and the undesirable features so frequently mentioned in the Press and on the platforms were generally restricted to the poorer districts. A very large proportion of the people were sober, honest, hard-working and intelligent, with an earnest desire for improvement.

Drunkenness with its attendant evils was certainly the greatest worry to the magistrates. During the period 1850-70 there were in Burnley on the average 160 hotels, inns and taverns, numerous tap rooms adjoining the public houses, and 75 places with "off" licences, so that in the area covered by the present borough there were approximately 300 places where beer and spirituous liquor could be obtained. In addition, there were the "hush shops" where illicit spirits were manufactured. These are known to have existed in Cop Row (Burnley Lane), Newcastle Street, Roggerham and Coal Clough, and at one time even a Towneley gamekeeper was engaged in the illicit trade. Conviction was followed by a fine up to £50, though one gentleman of Rose Grove was fined £300.

Many small taverns were haunts of vice and cruelty, and some landlords adopted nefarious practices to attract custom. The "Poet's Corner" in Curzon Street boasted of a rat-pit where on one occasion onlookers saw a dog kill 100 rats in 8½ minutes; many taverns allowed gaming while others became resorts of prostitutes; nearly all permitted drinking after hours, and in most of them drunkenness was encouraged. A few inns, including the Hall Inn, attracted custom by employing music-hall artistes, and the Market Tavern for a few weeks in 1864 showed "The British Giant, 19 years old, 7 feet tall, and weighing 13 stones." The Princess Alexandra public house in Colne Road exhibited "a museum of rare preserved birds, animals, etc., a stereoscopic gallery, a self-acting organ, canaries and walking-sticks." Later in 1870 the same house added a music hall to which "boys and disorderly persons" were not admitted. The museum seems to have been transferred to the Barracks Hotel.

Thus, there can be no surprise that between 1850-70 about 500 cases of drunkenness annually were brought before the magistrates. At week-ends, Wapping, Salford, Finsleygate, Hill Top, and Pickup Croft presented sights which were by

no means edifying. Ordinary drunkenness was generally regarded as a regular part of the life of some sections of the community, and the police took no action unless some other offence was committed. The milder offences associated with excessive drinking were sleeping on the roadway, on a midden or in a kiln, driving a cart without being able to hold the reins, or, in one instance, following the horse and cart at a distance of a half a mile. Much more serious were the frequent brutal assaults on women, who were often kicked and injured, and many fights when men (and women), stripped to the waist, used fists, heads, knees, and clogs, to the point of exhaustion. Not seldom, gangs of 10 or 12 drunken men attacked passers-by with knives, pokers, etc., invaded houses and beat the inmates. On one occasion, an Irish regiment broke out of the Barracks on pay night, and armed with bayonets terrorised Wapping and parts of Salford.

Though the police patrolled in pairs, they often experienced great difficulty in making an arrest for they might be faced with as many as 200 hooligans from the alleys and taverns, determined to rescue the prisoner. Sometimes stones were thrown and the policemen were attacked; on one occasion, two policemen who tried to quell a disturbance at a circus in Fulfilledge Meadow were very seriously injured.

Garrotting and other types of violent assault with intent to rob was common in periods of distress, the victims being often quite poor people. Thieving and picking-pockets had many skilful exponents, particularly among children, youths, and women of loose character. The magistrates and judges dealt severely with all such cases, irrespective of age or sex. Here are some typical sentences:— for garrotting and taking 1s. 6d., 7 years' penal servitude; a boy of 11, for stealing a purse, 2 months' hard labour and a whipping; a boy of 12, for stealing a pair of second-hand shoes, 3 months' hard labour; a boy of 13, for stealing a pair of shoes, 3 months' hard labour and a whipping; a girl of 12, for stealing a pair of stockings valued at 11½d., 14 days' imprisonment; a girl of 16, for purloining a petticoat, 3 months' hard labour. Of two youths, both aged 18, one was sentenced to hard labour for 12 months for stealing 1s. and a pistol, and the other to 6 months' hard labour for stealing 2s. Poachers were also severely punished; they generally carried out their activities in Barden Lane, at Royle, Ormerod and Towneley. Rather unusual offences were taking pheasant eggs from Heasandford, and killing 21 lbs. of fish in the "Big Hole" in the Brun behind Bank Hall. Begging was a very common offence committed by the many vagrants who passed through Burnley: one woman who solicited money "to bury her child" received a sentence of 28 days, and the

same punishment was imposed on a youth of 16, who asked for help because he was hungry, destitute, and out of work for four months; he was sent to prison "where he would be taken care of."

The behaviour of certain sections of the community was a public scandal. Youths jostled people on footpaths and hurled insults at them. A wooden seat in Manchester Road near the railway station, placed there for the convenience of older people, had to be removed because it became the centre of unruly conduct. Hooliganism was to be found everywhere, notably on the "Rabbit Walk" in Towneley Holmes, at Pendle Bridge, and near Royle, so that landowners threatened to close the roads. Gangs of men and youths loitered at street corners making it difficult to pass along the streets. Pickup Croft and Wood Top were crowded on Sundays with pigeon-merchants, gamblers and others engaged in betting and coursing, while every district had its "school" of "pitch and toss" with halfpennies. Pigeon shooting matches for £10 a side and coursing at Glen View Gardens attracted crowds which not only included the working classes but also representatives of the middle and professional classes. Fights between local champions were frequently arranged, and one match at Rowley drew a crowd of 300; no rules were enforced and kicking was permitted. Moral laxity was rife under the conditions that prevailed in the slums and many prosecutions for keeping irregular houses were heard by the magistrates. Evidence of the low standard of morality is seen in a record of 1861 which shows that in that year in Burnley there were 51 husbands and 147 wives then living who had been married at the age of 15 or under.

A more hopeful feature to set against this depressing account of crime, immorality and stupid behaviour is the fact that by 1870 there was a perceptible decline in the number of cases of brutality, assaults on women, and robbery brought before the magistrates. The improvement in the moral tone of the town gradually became very marked, and though old people still speak of the deplorable conditions in Wapping, Finsleygate, and other slum areas at the end of the 19th century, those conditions were far better than in 1850.

PASTIMES, SPORTS, Etc.

It is pleasant to pass from the sordid aspect of Burnley life to the more innocent activities of the people. Many sports requiring little in the way of equipment were high in popular favour. Among them were "knur and spell" and "buck and stick," though the police took care that such games were not

played in the vicinity of buildings lest the windows should suffer damage. Bowling with specially shaped stones was also a popular and cheap form of amusement, but players were limited in their enjoyment by not being allowed to play on the highways. Unofficial foot-races were held in Todmorden Road, in Colne Road, near Pendle Bridge, and on paths leading to Royle, while better organised races took place in Glen View Gardens where crowds numbering 2,000 assembled to watch the sports. Walking matches seem to have become popular after 1864, when at Glen View a woman walked some 1,000 miles in 1,000 hours; in January 1865 she walked 100 miles in 50 hours, and went on to complete 1,500 miles in 100 hours, for which she was paid at the rate of 2d. a day. Her feat was rivalled in September 1865 by a Burnley man who walked the ten miles between Burnley and Todmorden five times a day on alternate days during a whole week, so that between 7 a.m. on the Monday and 7-45 p.m. on the following Saturday he had completed some 200 miles. In a walking match of 7½ miles between the Bull in Burnley and the Bull's Head in Bacup, the winner is said to have completed the course in one hour.

The first "Burnley Athletic Festival" was held at Turf Moor in September 1866 under the auspices of the Burnley Cricket Club. The events included putting the shot, hurdles, jumps, flat races and walking races. In the following year, the Cricket Club engaged the services of Mons. Remaudi as "gymnastic professor" and he built up a team of athletes which gave displays on the cricket ground. The Lowerhouse Club held an Athletic Festival from 1873 onwards. In June 1866 the Grammar School held its first "Annual Sports," which took the form of a cricket match between parents and boys, followed by races and jumps. To the great delight of the youngsters, Messrs. W. and T. Mitchell, old boys of the School and "champion athletes of Lancashire," were present and wore their gold medals. The most important athletic sports in Burnley were those forming part of the two days' fête associated with the annual show of the Burnley Agricultural Society; here, for some years after 1867, in addition to the usual Agricultural exhibition, there were band contests, donkey races, hurdle races for ponies, and in addition, flat races, hurdles, jumps, etc. for athletes. The prizes were very valuable and attracted competitors from all parts.

Football was undoubtedly played, but as there were no recognised teams and no organised rules, activities in this form of sport were not reported in the newspapers. Cricket was better organised and had a good following. A chapter on "Burnley Sports" will be given later and here only the

names of a few clubs can be listed. There was no league and all matches were "friendlies" arranged by the secretaries. In 1860, cricket clubs in connection with St. Peter's and St. James's came into existence. St. James's club played on a ground at Brunshaw, but it was so uneven that one visiting team from Great Harwood refused to play. In 1861 the Burnley Phoenix and the Burnley Union clubs were formed; both were prosperous for a considerable time and were able to run second teams. To these clubs were added in 1862 the Burnley Mutual, Albion, St. Mary's, Hearts of Oak (on the Ridge), Reedley Grove, Olympic, Burnley Grammar School, Tarleton, Carlton Road (Mr. Grant's School), Harlequins (at the Griffin) and Britannia (Stoneyholme). Some of these were disbanded after a year or two, but many others were started before 1870 in connection with churches (Trinity), chapels (Mount Pleasant), mills (Slater's), societies (Burnley Part Song Union), as well as independent clubs, such as the Alexandra and the Prince Alfred Cricket Clubs.

As early as 1849 there were open air swimming baths in Fulfilled between Hand Bridge and the Canal, but they do not seem to have been very popular, possibly because the water was taken from the Calder without any attempt to get rid of its impurities. The Canal was probably cleaner and certainly cheaper for swimmers. In 1863 Messrs. Ashworth and Houldsworth, who had built the Public Hall in Elizabeth Street as a lecture room, extended the building to provide accommodation for eight private baths; in the 1st class a charge of 9d. was made for hot, cold or tepid baths, and 1s. for vapour baths, while in the 2nd class the corresponding charges were 4d. and 8d. A few months later, a plunge bath was built but it was not until 1865 that two swimming baths, one of which was 60 feet long, were constructed. A charge of 6d. was made in the 1st class. Galas were arranged, and Professor Poulton, described as "the greatest scientific swimmer in England," gave frequent demonstrations. In 1867 the Corporation bought the premises for £2,200 and decided to retain the baths and to use the lecture room as a "Town Hall." The baths made a profit of £133 in the first six months under the new management.

ENTERTAINMENT.

The social life of Burnley was characterised after 1850 by an increasing number of public entertainments in great variety. In pavilions erected by travelling companies, in wooden structures of a semi-permanent nature, and in the Public Hall in Elizabeth Street, the people of Burnley might hear Shakespearean plays, melodramas, and Grand Opera,

while high class concerts in which the most famous vocalists and instrumentalists appeared were organised in the Mechanics' or in the Public Hall. Frequent visits of nigger minstrels satisfied other tastes and a music hall regularly offered to its patrons a variety of jugglers, acrobats, step-dancers, and comedians. Other forms of popular entertainment were the panoramas, dioramas, "penny readings," the ambitious "Orations" of renowned elocutionists, and the thrilling performances given in the Mechanics' or Church Institute by illusionists, clairvoyants, mesmerists and phrenologists.

The Theatre Royal in Boot Street closed down in April 1851 and gave as its last play "Love's Sacrifice," described as "a beautiful, pathetic play." No further attempt to provide a theatre was made until January 1859 when the "New Theatre" was opened in the Market Place. It was a wooden building where "smoking is forbidden but good fires are kept," and prices ranged from 1s. in the boxes to 3d. in the gallery. The theatre changed its programme daily and always gave two and sometimes three plays at each performance: the patrons evidently demanded good value for their money. The New Theatre opened with "Hamlet" followed by "Catherine Howard or the Tomb, the Altar, the Scaffold." Many melodramas were performed in which Mr. S. Wild, the proprietor, always took the leading part, including that of Orson, the "wild man" in "The Wild Man of the Woods." In 1860 Mr. Macdonald took over the lease of this building and renamed it "The Theatre Royal." Colonel Towneley and the militia band graced it with their presences on Saturdays when "an official is in attendance to preserve order." Its programme then varied between Shakespearean plays, usually Hamlet and Othello, Schiller's "The Robbers," popular melodramas and occasionally variety entertainment. Among the most popular plays were "Maria Martin, or the Murder in the Red Barn," "The Man in the Iron Mask," "Tom Cringle's Log," "The Italian Wife," "Leap for Life," "The Soldier's Daughter," and the famous "Colleen Bawn."

Meanwhile in 1859 another wooden theatre, known as "Pickles' Theatre" or more commonly as "Pickuls," was opened in the present Cattle Market. After a performance of "The Bohemian Girl" it was burnt down and Mr. and Mrs. Pickles barely escaped with their lives; there was a rumour at the time that all might have been saved, had the building been insured with a Fire Insurance Company, which would have paid for water and the service of the fire brigade. The theatre was rebuilt a year later as "a costly and unique establishment" by Mr. Johnson Ambler, who named his venture "The Royal Standard"; 360 people attended the opening performance to hear "Belpheor, the Mountebank."

The influence of the theatre was deplored in many quarters. Social workers said that children stole money or pawned goods to obtain the admission fee, and reported that it was not an uncommon practice for theatre managements to accept articles of clothing in lieu of the admission money. Sunday school teachers declared that children were frequently late or absent from class after spending the previous evening at the theatre. Even the tavern keepers and innkeepers complained that their takings were much reduced, and Mr. Mose-dale of the "Poet's Corner" took the lead in collecting signatures and forwarding a petition to the magistrates asking that theatrical licences should be withdrawn. Many people with strict religious views believed that even a single visit to a theatre would jeopardise their hopes of heaven.

During the Cotton Famine and for some time afterwards, both the Theatre Royal in the Market Place and the Royal Standard in the Cattle Market closed down, though the latter opened for a few weeks in 1866. Their place was taken by travelling theatres, a Music Hall, and the Public Hall.

The most important of the travelling theatres was Duvall's which visited the town every summer for six or eight weeks and had a special attraction because a seat could be obtained for 3d., whereas in other theatres the minimum charge had been raised to 6d. "Duvall's" was held in a "mammoth pavilion," erected in the Market Square or the Cattle Market, and presented the usual melodramas, "Colleen Bawn," "A Tale of the Dismal Swamp," "Mysteries of Crime," "The Poison Tree of Java," "Maria Martin," "Sweeney Todd," etc.

"The New Market Music Hall" was opened on October 19th, 1863 by Mr. John Sagar, the landlord of the Market Inn; the building is still in existence and has recently been used by the Garrick Club. The new establishment, which took the place of the "Concert Room" at the Inn, presented the usual medley of music hall turns—tableaux, vocalists, comedians, dancers, acrobats, "men imitating gorillas," etc. Its tone deteriorated until 1868, when Mr. Sagar made a desperate effort to introduce "better class artistes," though the prices remained the same, viz. 4d. and 3d. on Saturday and Monday nights, 3d. and 2d. on other evenings. In 1869 Mr. J. Bainton took over control, renamed it "The People's Concert Hall," and presented singers, dancers, acrobats and coloured minstrels. For a few weeks it was known as "The Theatre Royal" and offered drama, but it soon returned to its original purpose as a music hall.

A particularly important and progressive step was made in theatrical entertainment in Burnley when the Public

Hall in Elizabeth Street was licensed for plays in 1863. This building, which was erected by Messrs. Ashworth and Holdsworth, and opened on April 12th, 1862 with a dinner, dance and lecture on "Civil and Religious Liberty," provided the people of Burnley with a small assembly room, and "The Albert Baths." For some time the Assembly Room was used for secular lectures, a secular Sunday School, and small concerts, but the proprietors soon found that by flooring over the 2nd class swimming bath they could make a much larger hall. In January 1863, a licence was granted for stage plays, and Burnley amateur companies presented one or two Shakespearean plays, while every Saturday night a fairly good popular concert was given. Late in 1864, the Grand Lyric Opera Company, with principals drawn from Drury Lane and "Italian Opera," made its first visit to the Public Hall and was much appreciated; among the operas the company presented were Gounod's "Faust" and Bellini's "La Sonnambula." In November 1865, the theatre took the name of "The Theatre Royal," and was leased out for varying periods to really good companies; the proprietors employed a costumier, a scene painter and a large orchestra. Operas, Shakespeare, Restoration plays, melodramas and farces all figured in the programmes, and every evening two works of very different character were given. Thus, one company during two weeks gave "La Sonnambula," "Il Trovatore," "Norma," "Bohemian Girl," "Faust," "Barber of Seville," "Don Giovanni," "The River Sprite," "Un Ballo in Maschera" (Verdi), and eleven different farces including "The Waterman," "The Jealous Wife," "Fra Diavolo," and "Did you send your wife to Camberwell?" This theatre in the Public Hall closed down in September 1867 when the Corporation bought the property.

The first "Burnley Choral Society" was founded in 1834 and had as its officers, Mr. Morine (organist), John Holgate (manufacturer, banker, etc.), Benjamin Chaffer (builder and quarry owner), James Sellers (master spinner), Dr. Coultate, who was the Hon. Sec., and John Heelis (gentleman and J.P.). Meetings were first held in the Hall Inn but in 1842 the Society took a room in St. James' Row. The Society was reorganised in 1847 with Mr. James Sellers as President and its object was "to promote a taste for high class music, vocal and instrumental." In spite of the lack of a piano and a suitable room, the Society performed the "Messiah," "Judas Maccabaeus," "St. Paul," "Twelfth Mass" and many other classical works, and, in addition, gave concerts in the Court Room (Keighley Green), Pickup Street School, Salem Chapel and the Mechanics'. For the subscription concerts which the Society arranged in the Mechanics', leading singers and instrumentalists were engaged. In 1868 there were 103 members of

the Society; honorary members paid a minimum of 10s. a year and ordinary members 2s. 6d. The leaders of the orchestra from 1847 to 1872 included T. Healey ("Father of Burnley Musicians") George Stansfield, and Charles Gawkrödger; among the conductors were J. Parkinson, C. Greenwood, T. Pollard, J. Watson, and W. Harrison. The last work given was "The Creation" in December 1872, and though efforts were made in 1874 and again in 1878 and 1879 to revive the Society, they proved unavailing. For three years 1874-6 the "Burnley Lane Choral Union" with J. Preston as conductor tried to take the place of the defunct Choral Society, and though it had a chorus and a band of 100, the venture was unsuccessful.

A "Burnley Glee Club" was founded in 1848 and met in the Choral Society's room in St. James' Row. It was dissolved in 1863 at a meeting at the Royal Oak when the music was sold to the highest bidder. A few months later the "Burnley Part Song Union" was formed with Christopher Slater as conductor. Most of its members were drawn from the Tonic Sol-fa class which Mr. Slater taught voluntarily at the Mechanics' for 25 years, 1856-81. The Part Song Union gave many concerts of a miscellaneous character and performed annually one of the operettas, written by Mr. Slater's brother, Edward, which dealt with local events—"The Witches in Pendle," "The Blacksmith of Rossendale—a Co-operative Pioneer," "Barcroft Hall," "Hurstwood Hall or the Fairies at Brownside"; in all Mr. E. Slater composed eleven operettas. A "Habergham Eaves Madrigal Society" also existed during 1860-70 but its entertainments during this period seem to have been given to private and select audiences and not made available to the general public.

Brass bands were common during 1850-70. One was known as "The Burnley Mechanics' Institute Band" and became quite famous under its conductor, Mr. Charles Hull. It carried off the 1st prize in 1854 and the 4th in 1855 at the Belle Vue Band Contests. The band was in considerable demand for accompanying Sunday school trips to Blackpool and other places, leading processions, and playing at cricket matches and other sports' meetings. It was reorganised in 1863 and became "The Old Reed Band." More important was the band of the 17th Lancashire Rifles (Burnley Volunteers), which not only won the admiration of all as it led the march through Burnley streets, but also gave concerts in the Mechanics' to appreciative audiences. It carried off 1st prize at Belle Vue. Little information is available about a band attached to Back Lane School or about the Lowerhouse Quadrille Band which seems to have been one of Burnley's earliest dance bands. Brass band contests were held annually for a number of years after 1860 in

a field off Godley Lane. No Burnley bands were allowed to compete but the festival attracted a fair number of other Lancashire bands.

The best concerts during 1860-70 were undoubtedly those arranged by Burnley's leading musicians, Mr. J. Pollard, Mr. J. Watson, Mr. C. Greenwood, and Mr. J. Lister. Usually four concerts were given annually in the Mechanics' and were attended by large audiences drawn from all ranks of society; prices ranged from 3s. 6d. for reserved seats (evening dress) to 6d. in the gallery. Much admired items at these concerts included the performances of the London Glee and Madrigal Union, Master Willie Pape of Alabama, aged 14 (piano), Mrs. Lemmens-Sherrington (prima donna), Mrs. Sunderland (prima donna), Mr. Charles Halle (piano), Mons. Baetens (piano), Mons. de Jong (flute), and Mr. Ellis Roberts (harp). A "Subscription Concert Company" was formed in 1869 but was not a success as the first concert it arranged was "too much from Italian composers and few knew the meaning of the words."

There were of course other concerts of a more popular type given by travelling companies. Negro minstrels made frequent visits—the Christy Minstrels (generally advertised as "The Original"), the African Company, the African Opera Troupe, The American Company, the Virginian Minstrels, and the Alleghanian Vocalists. Their efforts were not always acceptable and on one occasion the Mechanics' was the scene of a small riot when one company gave its version of "A Night in Ole Kentucky." The only policeman on duty sympathised with the audience and made no effort to quell the disturbance. There were also many visits from the companies of Harry Clifton, composer and comic, Herr Heinemeier, the Bernais Singers, Dr. Mark and his little men, General Tom Thumb—the famous dwarf, Professor Anderson and Mons. Jacobwitz.

In addition to concerts of varying quality, other entertainments were provided by mesmerists, illusionists, and clairvoyants. Of these the most famous were Signor Bosco, the Wizard, and Professor Pepper; the latter was particularly clever in ghost scenes and in one week produced "Proteus, or We are here but not here," "Faust," "Spectres in Dreamland" and "Carnival of Spirits."

The earliest forerunners of the present day cinematograph was the "Panorama" or the "Diorama." This was a long canvas covered with continuous picture which was gradually unwound in view of the audience. As the canvas was

unrolled, the lecturer made suitable remarks or quoted passages of poetry, and occasionally enlivened the proceedings by introducing "props," such as a wooden camel on wheels, or a large toy train, which was pulled across the platform at the appropriate moment. When anything went wrong with the mechanism, as often happened, the curtain was lowered and one of the company entertained the audience until the necessary adjustments had been made. Panorama shows were most popular and were often graced by the presence of the Mayor and the Town Clerk. Among the many panoramas which were exhibited in the Mechanics' may be listed Dr. Livingstone's Travels, the Far East, the Alps, South African animals, jungles, etc., the Court of Queen Victoria, Paradise Lost and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. One panorama showing the beauties of the British Isles had thirty scenes, each containing 126 square feet of canvas. Entertainment was also provided by marionette shows and waxwork exhibitions.

Few weeks passed without a visit from a circus either to the Cattle Market or to Fulledge Meadow. Among the annual attractions were Sanger's, the American Circus "with two educated mules," Manley's, Bell's Hippodrome, Pablo Fanques, and "Maunder's Mammoth Menagerie with 15 caravans, 50 horses, an ourang-outang, ostriches, tigers, lions, elephants, birds and reptiles, all worth £40,000."

To provide a counter-attraction to the theatre and music hall, the Committee of the Mechanics' instituted during the winter seasons of 1860-2 a "Saturday Evening Recreation." Here the "youth of all ages" were able to enjoy dancing, interspersed with recitations and musical items by handbell ringers and other performers; for all of which, gentlemen paid 6d. and ladies 4d., but spectators only were charged the small sum of 2d. No intoxicants were sold but supper was provided, and the only stipulation was that dancers should wear dancing shoes. More important were the weekly "Penny Readings" which were first arranged by the Committee of the Mechanics' and afterwards the idea was adopted by the Temperance Societies and by almost all the churches and chapels. These very popular meetings, for which an admission charge of 1d. was made, were carried on for many years. At the Mechanics', the leaders were Henry Houlding, George Rawcliffe, J. Kirk, and members of the Mechanics' elocution class, who gave readings from Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, Burns, Waugh, and other famous writers. Musical items were also introduced to vary the entertainment. On a rather higher level were the "Orations," renderings by well-known elocutionists of the world's most noteworthy speeches.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

As railway services were extended, road transport between Burnley and the larger towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire declined so that by 1860 from the former network of long-distance horse-drawn conveyances for both goods and passengers, there remained only the carriers' carts serving surrounding villages. In 1852 Richard Rothwell, the last of the Burnley stage-coach drivers, sold his coaches, waggons and many of his horses. The Turnpike Trusts which owned the roads between Blackburn, Burnley and Addingham, and between Burnley and Bury, were glad to surrender their property since receipts from the tolls were less than the expenses. The Burnley and Rochdale Trust, however, was able to get £750 compensation in 1872 from the Corporation for removing the tollbar from Hufing Lane inside the new Borough boundary to a point on the Bacup Road outside the limits of the town. The compensation was paid for loss of tolls on coal carts coming into Burnley from the Towneley and Cliviger pits. In addition to loss of income through railway competition, receipts dwindled because, as the town's boundaries were extended, the distance between tollbars became greater and more and more farmers and carters were able to use the roads without passing through a tollbar; moreover, many Local Government Boards were attempting to compel the Trusts to construct and maintain side-pavements. An interesting effort on the part of the Burnley and Rochdale Trust to increase its income occurred in 1865, when an illegal attempt was made to compel a minister to pay toll when travelling on Sunday to a distant chapel on horseback or in a carriage; the Trust claimed that exemption from toll only applied when the journey was to a church or chapel in Burnley.

Within the limits of the Borough, haulage was effected by horse and cart. An idea of the limited traffic by present-day standards may be obtained from statistics relating to traffic at the corner of Yorkshire Street on a Monday in 1873 between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.:— 69 carriages, 545 carts, 82 horseback riders and 7,000 foot passengers (The observer remarked that nearly all the foot passengers walked on a three foot pavement rather than on the six foot pavement on the other side of the road).

A mail omnibus ran twice a day to Padiham and to Colne, and on Sundays an omnibus ran to Whalley and Mitton. The single fare to Mitton was 1s. outside and 1s. 3d. inside the vehicle. For some time a wagonette, holding sixteen people, ran on Sundays to Whalley at a cost of 2s. 6d. return. Shopping in Burnley was greatly facilitated when Bracewell's

began to run buses every hour from the Swan Inn to Wood Top and to Barden Lane for 2d. each way. There were seven firms running cabs—Dickinson (Turf Moor Inn), Sutcliffe (Bull), Bracewell (Keighley Green), Eastwood (Keighley Green), Calvert (Exchange Hotel), E. and H. Mitchell (Bar-racks Tavern), and Williams (Wood Top). The first cabstand in Burnley was set up in 1868 by Bracewell's, and was situated between Bridge Street and Cowgill's shop. A year later a cabstand was authorised in Red Lion Street, and some years later at the two railway stations. Bye-laws relating to cabs were made in 1868, and fixed the price of hire at 1s. for the first mile or under, and 6d. for each additional half-mile; the return fare was half the outgoing fare, and, if requested, the cabman had to wait at least ten minutes for his passenger. Double fares were charged between 12 midnight and 5 a.m. In 1874 all the cab firms, with the exception of Eastwood's, amalgamated to form "The Burnley Carriage Company." They promised, among other things, to provide "clean cabs."

The carriages used by the gentry were turned out in splendid style, and excited general admiration, particularly on Sundays when so many were to be seen bringing families to church and chapel. A barouche built by Bracewell's at their Mitre Coach Works was described as "an image of loveliness." For poorer folk, there was the pleasure of cruising up and down the Canal in a new 4 h.p. steam launch holding forty people, and built at the New Hall Boat Yard.

After 1860 the railways quickly established their supremacy over the roads. At Bank Top Station alone the number of bookings increased from 83,000 in 1850 to 226,000 in 1866, and during the same period the revenue rose from £4,500 to £10,500. Many cheap excursions were run to the Lancashire coast towns and even to the Isle of Man and Dublin. The following will illustrate how low were the fares:—Liverpool, Southport or Blackpool. day trips, 2s. 6d., eight days' excursions, 3s. 6d.; "special" day trips, youths, 1s., female adults, 1s. 6d., men, 2s.: fifteen days' excursions to the Isle of Man and Dublin, 7s. 6d. Trips to London "in covered carriages" were run from Colne at a charge of 10s. 6d. A visit to Doncaster to see the St. Leger cost 5s. for 3rd class and 10s. for 1st class passengers. Such cheap excursions were a boon to working men, Sunday Schools, mills and societies. The Weavers' Union used to take 1,000 tickets at a time for an excursion to Blackpool, and every year during the fair holidays Sunday schools chartered whole trains for a trip to the seaside. Not all trips were equally enjoyable, and on one occasion an excursion train left Colne at 6 a.m., arrived at Blackpool at

11-30 a.m., started back at 8 p.m., but did not complete the journey back to Colne until daybreak the following morning.

The town authorities complained bitterly to the East Lancashire Railway Company about conditions at Bank Top Station. They pointed out that the single line caused delay, and at the same time demanded more trains, a covered platform and more waiting rooms. Manufacturers made representations against the increase in transport charges, and showed that the cost of bringing a ton of cotton from Liverpool to Burnley had risen from 11s. in 1849 to 13s. 4d. in 1865. The Town Council felt the situation so much that in 1859 they refused to support the Parliamentary Bill to amalgamate the East Lancashire and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Companies. Parliament, however, passed the Bill, and a new "Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company" took over the management of both railways in Burnley. As the necessary improvements at Bank Top were still withheld, the Council supported the proposed formation in 1865 of "The Manchester and North Lancashire Railway Company" which, under the chairmanship of Colonel Charles Towneley, tried to raise £1,250,000 in £1 shares to build three lines—one from Burnley via Bacup and Rochdale to Ordsall where it was to join the Manchester—Liverpool Railway, a second from Burnley via Padiham and Whalley to Preston, and a third from Padiham to Blackburn. The scheme did not materialise, largely because the L. & Y. Company promoted an Act of Parliament to construct a line from Burnley to Blackburn via the Barracks, Padiham, Simonstone and Great Harwood; this line was completed and opened for passengers in 1876. A proposal in 1869 to construct a railway from Rawtenstall via Crawshawbooth to Burnley was postponed for a time. In 1868 the over-due alterations at Bank Top Station were carried out. An iron and glass roof was erected over the one platform, 2nd and 3rd class waiting rooms were built, and separate entrances were made to the ladies' room and the 2nd, and 3rd class booking offices. At the same time, the present Manchester Road Station was built to replace the original Thorneybank Station. In 1874 eleven trains ran daily from Burnley to Manchester and fifteen from Manchester to Burnley.

About 1850 the Post Office was removed from Fleet Street to St. James' Row but was again removed in 1858 to the corner of Elizabeth Street and Manchester Road. Here, according to reports, the floor space available to the public was only nine square feet. In 1876 a plot of land was bought from the trustees of the Salem Chapel and on it a new Post Office, now known as the Prudential Buildings, was completed in 1880. At the beginning of this period there were only

two pillar boxes in Burnley, one near the Yorkshire Hotel and the other in Westgate, but by 1865 additional boxes had been provided at Brown Hill, Chancery Street, Duke Bar, Trinity Church, and Carlton Road, while sub-post offices were opened in Gannow and at the Cross Keys Hotel. In 1875 the latter ceased to be a post office and another one was opened in Westgate; at the same time more pillar boxes were erected in the newer parts of the town. Long distance letters and parcels were sent by train, but mail omnibuses starting from the Albion Inn carried mails to Padiham and Colne.

The first telegraph line in Burnley, installed in 1853 by the British Electric Telegraph Company, connected the Post Office with the telegraph line at Bank Top Station. The charge was 1s. for 20 words to Manchester, and 5s. for 20 words to London, but this charge was soon reduced to 2s. 6d. In 1868 the Magnetic Telegraph Company set up telegraph poles on the highways and connected private subscribers with the exchange office. Among the first to take advantage of the new means of communication were the Mechanics' and the Church Institute where business men gathered to hear the latest reports on the state of the markets. In February 1870 all telegraph systems were taken over by the Post Office.

CHAPTER II.

Burnley, 1870 - 1900.

The modernisation of Burnley began in 1865 with the alterations at the bottom of Manchester Road. Here the Red Lion was demolished and rebuilt on a site that allowed the much-needed widening of the roadway. Further improvements and alterations, carried out during 1870-1900, opposite St. Peter's Church, in Church Street, and along the whole length of St. James's Street completely changed the character of the main thoroughfare. By 1900, what had once been a narrow irregular street, with several "bottle-necks" formed by projecting buildings, became a reasonably wide main road, with a particularly wide shopping area in the present Centre.

The changes in the main street and its immediate vicinity may best be described according to the date of the alterations. In 1873 the Corporation bought and partially demolished most of the old property bounded by St. James's St. (that part known as Blucher Street), Yorkshire Street, Boot Street, and Cliviger Street; it was rebuilt with new building lines which widened St. James's Street from 26 feet to 40 feet and gave Yorkshire Street a six-foot wide pavement. In 1873 also, the first improvements were made in the vicinity of Hammerton Street. The Victoria Market, an open-air fruit market, which stood on the site of the present Woolworth's, was closed, and plans for new buildings (Collinge's furniture shop) were passed that laid down the present building line. Two years later a strip of land was bought between St. James's Street and Tanner Street and added to the width of Hammer-ton Street. On the opposite side, little could be done at the time with the projecting "Mason's Emporium" ("Cheap John's"), but "all the beggarly huts and wretched shops" lying between St. James's Street, Paradise Street, Coal Street, and St. James' Row were bought by the Corporation for £7,000 and were soon demolished. By 1878 "the stately Baldwin's Buildings" (now Messrs. Alexandre's), erected on part of the site, so much enhanced the appearance of that particular area, that shopkeepers began to fit their windows with plate glass. Near St. Peter's, iron palisades replaced an old stone wall on Bank Parade, but the greatest improvement here was the widening and paving of the narrow School Lane and the closing of a shorter and steeper parallel lane between Fenkin Street and Bank Parade. These changes were necessitated by the building of the present Grammar School which was opened in 1874.

In 1878 Godley Lane and the old footpath to Heasandford through the present Thompson Park were closed, and a new road, soon afterwards named "Ormerod Road," was constructed to lead direct to the Ridge.

In 1881 the old houses opposite St. Peter's Church were taken down to give sufficient room for the new tramway system. The stocks and the market cross were preserved and placed in their present position near the Grammar School. The Godley Lane Cross had been previously removed on October 18th 1880. Church Street was further improved and widened by the purchase and demolition in 1882 of Well House and four cottages, known as "Mount Row," near the bottom of Adlington Street; a block of disreputable property adjoining Keighley Green Mill in Church Street was also demolished. Even then, the tramlines at this point were only 18 inches from the curbstone. In the same year, 1882, Tunstill's Mill, on the site of the present Victoria Theatre, was bought for £7,000 and demolished in order to remove one more "bottle-neck."

These changes had two very desirable results: not only was the main road widened, but equally, if not more important, a great deal of insanitary property was cleared away. In the same way, the building of a new Market Hall and the extension of the present open-air market in the Market Place enabled the Corporation to get rid of the wretched property in Fountain Street, Fountain Court, and in much of Rodney Street.

A notable improvement was effected in 1886 at the entrance to Market Street by demolishing a newsagent's shop (Nuttall's), thus widening the roadway to 30 feet; another building, one storey high, was erected in Fleet Street as compensation. In the following year, the old Talbot Inn was taken down and with it went all the adjacent property. The Inn was rebuilt on its present site at the corner of Ormerod Road.

About 1897 "The Centre" came into existence as a result of radical changes in the line of St. James's Street. Up to that time, the main thoroughfare made a considerable curve to the east between the Hall Inn and Bridge Street, the top of Water Street, which connected St. James's Street with Cannon Street, being only 30 feet from the White Lion on the opposite side of the roadway; of this roadway, 4' 8½" was taken up by the tramline. (One may gather some idea of the ancient line of St. James's Street by regarding the present building line between Cliviger Street and Manchester Road as the original one, and imagining "Munn's Corner" at the top of Water Street as situated between the traffic islands in the present Centre).



Hill Top.



Finsleygate (pre 1850).

Off Water Street and Hall Rake (now Hall Street) was a congested mass of back-to-back property, public houses, lodging houses, stables and sheds; all collected together in wretched courts, alleys, and narrow streets. Robert's Place was possibly the worst spot in Burnley. In 1890 the Corporation decided to buy all the buildings lying between Baynes' shop (the present National and Provincial Bank) and Hall Street, together with all the property behind them to Cannon Street. Claims for compensation from property owners and shopkeepers, added to the prices asked for the buildings, amounted to £66,500, but investigation and arbitration reduced this sum to £26,320. The new building line was fixed to run straight between the National and Provincial Bank and the Hall Inn, though this entailed taking down the front of Cowgill and Smith's shop and rebuilding on the new line. Water Street was reduced to a mere "right of way" passage now lying between the Bus Offices and the Palace. By these important alterations, the "elbow curve" in St. James's Street became the present wide Centre. The area for resale to those wishing to build according to the new plans amounted to 3,071 square yards.

As Burnley's trade expanded and population increased, new development areas were opened out. At first, St. Andrew's Ward received most attention from builders and speculators whose enterprise after 1882 was aided by the running of trams. The new form of transport also brought about some building on Padiham Road and in the Accrington Road district. The development already begun in Stoneyholme and Whittlefield was accelerated as new mills were erected. The Oxford Road area made most progress after 1883 when the bridge was erected.

Statistics illustrating the rapidity with which new houses were erected are of interest:—

Approximate Number of Houses.	
1851	5,000
1871	9,000
1881	12,000
1891	18,000
1901	21,000

Progress in building was retarded only when a prolonged strike in one of the major industries affected personal savings or made banks and building societies unwilling to loan money to speculators. In 1866, for example, new construction included 500 houses and shops, four new mills, two printing works, St. James' Hall and buildings at Bank Top Station; in 1877 the numbers were 738 houses and shops, 13 mills, five

places of worship, and four public buildings. These figures were exceeded in 1888 by the erection of 846 houses and shops, three sheds, seven warehouses, and one school. On the other hand, only 173 houses were built in 1879, the year of depression following the great cotton strike.

The new dwelling houses for working-class families were stone-built, "terraced," and had four or five rooms; they made no pretence to architectural beauty. Working-class houses of a rather superior type had a small front garden, six rooms and a lobby. More imposing houses were built for business and professional men. Those, for example, in Ormerod Road were let for £30 a year, or sold at approximately £500.

Among the more notable public buildings erected during 1870-1900 were the Co-operative Buildings, St. James' Hall, the Grammar School, the Market Hall, the Town Hall, the Victoria Theatre and the Empire, the Victoria Hospital and the Workhouse.

STREETS.

During this period of rapid expansion, the making and repair of streets kept pace with the other developments, and there were now few complaints about dirty and muddy roadways. Furthermore, as a result of numerous experiments, much progress was made in the provision of better road-surfaces. In 1877, Curzon Street was re-made with deeper foundations and with a surface of Welsh granite sets instead of local millstone blocks. This experiment gave such satisfaction that the Corporation resolved to use the same methods and materials in making all future roads. In 1883, however, a further improvement was made when Yorkshire Street and Bankhouse Street were paved with Scotch granite sets laid on a concrete foundation, a principle which was followed for many years. Highways in undeveloped areas were of macadam and Burnley's first steam roller, acquired in 1878, was of great value not only to the town but also to local farmers who hired it for use on farm tracks and occupation roads.

The increase of streets and street paving may be seen from the following statistics:—

	Paved Streets		Unpaved		Macadam
1878	18 miles	.....	10 miles	.....	10 miles
1884	45 "	.....	15 "	.....	10 "
1890	55 "	.....	21 "	.....	9 "

Streets were lit by gas but lamps were 70 yards apart and their hissing single jets of flame merely served to make "darkness visible." The distance between lamps was reduced to 35 yards in 1900 but it was not until 1913 that the decision was taken to light back streets. The first effort to improve the lighting system was made in 1880 when a gas lamp opposite the Post Office in Manchester Road was fitted with a Bray's Patent Burner which by an arrangement of three flat-flame burners made "a complete ring of light" equal to 60 candle-power. So successful was the innovation that the patent was fitted to "The Gaumless" which then began to diffuse a light of 200 candle-power. The cost of gas would not allow of the extension of the new system to lamps other than those in the Centre, but the Corporation took pride in the fact that the ordinary Burnley gaslamp had an illuminating power of 18 candles, whereas the British standard was 15.8. Incandescent mantles in 1896 further increased the lighting strength.

Electric lighting seems to have been first introduced to Burnley on November 29th 1878 when a Manchester firm brought equipment and three lamps with which Turf Moor football field was "floodlit" during a late evening match; the total cost amounted to £39, but the experiment was not a success and spectators went home before the end complaining that they could not see anything. In April 1881 electric lamps were installed at the new Heasandford coke ovens to help workmen on dark mornings, and these seem to have been successful. The first official indoor electric lighting was seen in January 1886 when the newly formed Photographic Society illuminated a room in the Mechanics' as an added attraction to their first exhibition. The value of the new form of lighting was further exemplified in 1889 by a Padiham gentleman who made use of batteries to light his gig lamps.

In 1882 in order to forestall private electricity companies who might wish to provide electricity to houses, shops, and business premises, the Corporation requested and secured from the Government full powers to undertake the supply of electricity in Burnley. In 1893 the Electricity Works in Aqueduct Street were opened and on August 26th the current was switched on to light several rooms in the Town Hall, and two lamps and one or two shops in the Centre. The Town Hall clock was illuminated by electricity for the first time on June 7th 1895. In 1904 the new Heasandford Mill had the honour of being the first shed in England to be run by electricity.

BRIDGES.

Among the improvements most in demand at the time were the provision of new bridges and the reconstruction and widening of old ones. In fact, the development of certain areas was very much hampered by difficulty of access since foot-passengers and wheeled traffic had to make long detours to cross the canal or a railway line. Until 1872 people used stepping stones to cross the Calder in Oxford Road, but after two people had been drowned, and builders had shown some unwillingness to erect 1,500 houses on the Hollingreave estate, the Borough Council decided to spend £45 on the construction of a rickety wooden foot-bridge. The cost of an iron and stone bridge was estimated at £1,300, exclusive of the exorbitant purchase price which was being asked for the necessary additional land. The foot-bridge soon proved unsatisfactory and in 1883 the present bridge was erected at a cost of £2,000. The bridges in Church Street and Curzon Street were widened in 1873 and 1875 respectively, and these improvements were followed in 1877 by the widening of Hammerton Street bridge from 23 feet to 40 feet. The old Turn Bridge over the canal in Finsleygate was replaced by the present bridge in 1886, though three years previously the cost of £1,500 had been thought prohibitive. The foot-bridge from Healey Wood to Lane Bridge was built in 1878, and during its construction the old building, known as "The Bastile," was demolished. Piccadilly and Trafalgar Street were connected in 1886 by a foot-bridge over the railway, and a foot-bridge between Trafalgar Street and the Meadows was built in 1896 after long negotiations with the landowner. The bridge over the railway in Daneshouse Road was constructed in 1885. A notable improvement was effected in 1887 when Bank Parade was at last made more accessible by the abolition of the mill-dam across Bridge Street.

The problem of traffic through the Aqueduct or "the Culvert," as it was more familiarly called, was an annual topic in the Council and a daily nuisance for residents in Burnley Wood and Fulledege. The roadway with its narrow foot-pavement was only 22 feet 7 inches wide to accommodate all local traffic as well as vehicles for Halifax and Todmorden. Difficulties were considerably increased on days when horse fairs were held at the bottom of Brunshaw. The average daily traffic between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m. amounted to 20,000 foot-passengers and nearly 1,700 vehicles. In 1870 the Borough Council considered building side passages through the Aqueduct but were deterred by the estimated cost of £7,280. Mr. Grimshaw then offered to give land for a road to be made under the canal between Grimshaw Street and Plumbe Street, but once again the scheme was shelved on

account of expense. At last in 1896, after many years of discussion and postponement, the Council rejected the idea of a new road and decided to construct one side passage through the Aqueduct. Engineering difficulties were early encountered, and for some time the work was abandoned in the hope that the Canal Company would help to pay for the demolition of the whole structure and its replacement by a more suitable one. When the Canal Company refused, the Corporation continued its original project and completed one passage. This seemed so satisfactory that the authorities were emboldened to construct a second "gimlet hole" which was opened in 1897. The whole cost amounted to approximately £4,000.

PARKS, Etc.

For some years Burnley people had agitated for public "open spaces" where they might walk or rest, undisturbed by noise and traffic; they were also rather envious of Blackburn which possessed its "Corporation Park." When the Borough Council first began to provide these open spaces or "recreation grounds," as they were (and are) called, there was no intention that they should be used as playing fields, and it was not until land for parks had been generously presented to the town that the "recreation grounds" became centres of outdoor sports. The first of the recreation grounds was at Healey Heights, acquired in 1872 for a yearly rental of £32 10s. 0d. The hooliganism of youths who rolled stones down the hill, insulted passers-by, and at week-ends ruined everyone's pleasure, nearly put an end to the project of providing more open spaces. Fortunately the Council continued in its policy and by 1891 the following recreation grounds had been provided:— Healey Heights, Wood Top, Burnley Wood (near Towneley Station and closed in 1895 when the Corporation acquired part of Towneley Holmes), Whittlefield, Stoneyholme and Lowerhouse. During the next year or two, Lane Head and St. Andrew's were added. The work of clearing the ground, making footpaths and building walls was done by paupers. The grounds became most popular, and observations taken on one day in 1885 found over 5,000 people using them. In addition, in 1893 and the following year, the Corporation planted trees and shrubs to make Piccadilly Gardens and the Briercliffe Road Gardens.

It was during this period that Queen's Park, Scott Park, and Thornber Gardens were added to the amenities of Burnley; the preliminary negotiations for the acquisition of Towneley Hall and Park were also undertaken but their official opening did not take place until 1902. The land for Queen's Park, 28 acres in extent and valued at £27,000, was given by Sir John Thursby in 1888 and was laid out at considerable

expense by the Corporation. It was opened by the donor on July 1st 1893. Scott Park was due to the generosity of Alderman Scott who had already helped the Mechanics' and the town by defraying the cost of a new School of Art. In his will of 1881 he bequeathed £10,000 to trustees for the purpose of providing a public park for Burnley, such bequest to take effect on the death of Mrs. Scott. In 1889 the trustees considered buying land at Ightenhill, but eventually in 1892 they decided to buy 18 acres of the Hood House estate. The Scott Park was opened on August 8th 1895. In 1897 Alderman Thornber bought three acres of land near the Hospital and presented them to the town to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria; they are now known as "The Thornber Gardens." By far the most extensive and valuable addition to Burnley's open spaces was made possible in 1896 by the extremely generous offer of Lady O'Hagan to sell Towneley Hall and 61 acres to the Corporation for the very modest sum of £17,500.

HEALTH.

The census returns for the area included in the present borough boundaries show that the population increased from approximately 21,000 in 1851 to 97,000 in 1901. The greatest increases were in the decades 1871-81 with an increase of 18,000, and 1881-91 with an increase of 28,000. The birth rate between 1870 and 1890 varied between 36 and 42 per 1,000 of the population, but this was offset by a high death rate which approximated to 25 per 1,000.

The much needed improvement in the general health of the town became noticeable after 1875 when a new sewerage scheme, together with important sanitary regulations, had had time to show results. Before 1870 the average death rate was about 30 per 1,000, but by 1884 it had fallen to 23 per 1,000, and was further reduced to an average of 18.8 per 1,000 for the period 1896-1901. In 1895, Burnley's mortality rate was only 16.67 while that for all England was 19.15. The main reason for the improvement in health was the adoption of a planned sewerage scheme by which all waste was carried in sewers to the sewerage works instead of being allowed to foul the Brun and the Calder. Other factors contributing to better health were much improved housing, shorter hours of work, and a more enlightened public opinion that came with the spread of education.

Though the general health of the town improved, the percentage of deaths among children under five years of age remained regrettably high. In 1871, for example, out of 1,137

deaths in Burnley, 612 were of children under five, and of these 129 died from consumption, 120 from bronchitis, 112 from pneumonia, 121 from convulsions, and 80 from diarrhoea. These figures and the deplorable situation they reveal remained substantially unaltered for very many years, and they appear all the more distressing as a great improvement might have been expected to result from the new sanitary scheme. In 1886 the total death rate for Burnley was only 20 per 1,000 population, but the rate for the "under fives" was 288 per 1,000 live births, though for Lancashire as a whole it was only 166 and for England only 141. In 1895 when Burnley's death rate of 16.67 was the lowest ever recorded up to that time, the rate for Burnley's "under fives" was 242 per 1,000 live births, exceeded only by Preston's 248.

This exceptionally high rate of infant mortality was due to many causes. One medical authority attributed a quarter of the deaths of very young children to the smoke and soot in the atmosphere. Another blamed the fact that so many mothers of young children had to go out to work, leaving their children to "child-minders," often ignorant and overworked older women. Work began very early in the morning and the children had to be roused from sleep and carried through the streets, however inclement the weather; authentic cases are known of the "minders" dosing the children with laudanum to make them sleep throughout the day. All competent authorities were agreed on the essential need for fundamental changes in the condition of the people—the careless, ignorant, and intemperate habits of parents, the overcrowding, the dirt and damp, the fetid air of cellars and back-to-back property—before any considerable improvement in infant mortality could be expected.

Social conditions as a whole were much better in 1900 than they had been thirty years before, though there were still many families living in appalling poverty. The number of cellar dwellings had been reduced from 332 in 1877 to 266 in 1892 and successful efforts were made after 1896 to close many more on the grounds that they did not strictly comply with the bye-laws. For example, a number of cellars were condemned because the ceilings, which had to be 7 feet high "in every part" were supported by beams which were only 6' 6½" from the floor; others were closed because the ceilings were less than 3' above the level of the street, in spite of the fact that the Corporation had created that situation by raising the street level during repairs; some were declared uninhabitable because the open areas along the frontage were not at least 2' 6" wide. The rent for a "single" cellar was usually 1s. 6d. a week. Even in 1900 conditions in the houses of the very

poor were deplorable, for there was little or no furniture, the walls were whitewashed, and the stone floors were devoid of any covering. Overcrowding was common, and evidence given before magistrates showed that it was not unusual for two adults and four or five children to occupy the same bed. Living in equally squalid conditions were the four or five hundred occupants of common lodging houses and of "furnished rooms" which might be found in the Clifton Militia Barrack and in all the worst parts of the town.

A marked improvement was seen in the lives and homes of the skilled artisans, who by the end of this period could afford better clothing, better and more varied food, and the luxury of a carpet and suite of furniture (at any rate in the "best" room); some families even boasted the possession of a piano. The women no longer wore shawls over their heads when they walked out in the evening. Better still, many artisans were thrifty and had embarked on the policy of buying their own house through one of the building societies. It was publicly stated, though possibly with a gross exaggeration of the facts, that two-thirds of the working classes owned their own homes.

CRIME, DRUNKENNESS, Etc.

The end of the 19th century witnessed a remarkable improvement in standards of conduct. This is clearly shown in the annual police reports and statistics which record a steady decline in the number of offences tried before the magistrates; e.g. in 1877 there were 3,139 offences, in 1889—1,797, and in 1894—1122. These figures are all the more significant when it is remembered that during the same period, 1870-90, the population increased from 40,000 to 97,000 and contained some elements unused to town conditions. It is difficult to decide what factors contributed most to the improvement, but undoubtedly the greater efficiency of an expanded police force, the energetic work of the Corporation Health and Watch Committees, the spread of education, and the influence of benevolent societies and religious bodies had much to do with the raising of the general standard. Of course, Burnley was by no means perfect; there were several cases of murder and manslaughter, due to intoxication or mental instability. In two weeks in 1882 there were two murders and three cases of brutal assault, while in August 1881 out of 79 prisoners at the Assizes, 18 came from Burnley, the largest number for ten years. Such records, however, taken over a period of thirty years were exceptional. Midnight brawls were still quite common in the poorer districts, and one or two isolated cases

were reported from the more recently developed districts of Hebrew Road and Abel Street, a condition which caused serious concern to the authorities. However, hooliganism was checked and people could walk in the streets without being insulted, while garrotting and unprovoked assaults became things of the past; the number of assaults on women was also considerably reduced. The most encouraging feature was the decline in the number of young offenders, so that in 1886 the magistrates adopted the policy of dismissing them with a friendly caution and pious hope that the parents would deal with the trouble in a suitable way. In 1889, 13 children aged 7 to 12, and 30 children aged 13 to 16, were accused of petty larcency; of these, 27 were discharged, two sent to a reformatory, eight to an industrial school, and six were fined.

Undoubtedly the greatest problem that faced the authorities was the prevalence of drunkenness, which was held largely responsible for the widespread wretchedness, poverty and crime in the town. Conversely, one of the leading town missionaries considered that it was poverty, overcrowding and squalor in the home that drove people to the tavern to seek a little brightness and comfort. Until Parliament gave local authorities the powers to control the drink trade, little could be done to break this vicious circle. But even the temperance societies themselves were divided on the question what regulations were desirable. Among the measures advocated by various sections of informed opinion were earlier closing on weekdays and complete Sunday closing, the abolition of "off-licenses," and the giving of powers to magistrates to close as "redundant" a percentage of public houses. All were agreed that there were too many licensed premises in Burnley and were alarmed that the number was constantly increasing. In 1857 there were 149 licensed premises, and this number had increased to 252 in 1877, and 309 in 1895 (84 victuallers, 96 beer "on-licences," 91 beer "off-licenses," and 38 wine sellers). Drunkenness was not confined to public houses. Several "clubs" were convicted and closed for selling beer illegally. One club, known as "The Rat Pit" or sometimes as "The Pig and Whistle," was closed but reopened the following week as "The Gannow Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society"; though this new name might be supposed to disarm suspicion, the police had to prosecute several of its members for being drunk. To add to the difficulties, many taverns were the haunts of men and women of the lowest moral character and though landlords were frequently punished for keeping disorderly houses, the evil continued. In 1884, Burnley was described as "the most drunken town in England," yet during the year only one licensee was prosecuted for supplying drink to an intoxicated person. In 1878, the year of the cotton strike,

640 cases of drunkenness were tried by the magistrates; the number fell to an average of 430 for several years, but gradually rose to 552 in 1895. In assessing the significance of these figures, the 60% increase in population must not be overlooked; to keep numbers at a comparatively stable level represented a considerable achievement.

Gaming was another social evil which caused concern to the authorities. Youths formed "schools" for playing "pitch and toss"; among older men, pigeon flying, pigeon shooting, coursing, and other field-sports provided opportunities for betting on a large scale. These practices had been common for a long time, but after 1870 the attentions of the police caused them to be carried on in districts a little removed from the town. Gaming activities became such a nuisance near Royle that the landowner closed the road, while an occasional cock-fight at Crown Point drew crowds from places as far away as Skipton. Betting on horse-races became very popular about 1890 and soon ranked with drunkenness as the most disturbing feature in the social life of the town. In their efforts to check the growth of the gambling fever, the police kept a close watch on bookies and their "runners," and broke up all gangs of men collecting in the streets. Prosecutions were very few because the "schools" maintained an efficient scouting system which made conclusive evidence very difficult to come by. The betting craze spread even into religious societies, and one prominent minister resigned because several of the leading members of his congregation refused to give up the practice.

THE RELIEF OF THE POOR.

As the century advanced, the ratio of wages to prices rose, bringing about a higher standard of living and a reduction in the incidence of destitution. Cases of extreme poverty, due to lack of thrift, accident, sickness, or undesirable habits, were still to be found and for their relief the Board of Guardians was ultimately responsible. Instances of hardship are too numerous to describe in detail, but one example may be quoted—a family, consisting of an old woman of eighty-one, a middle aged woman (deserted by her husband) and two children, lived in a cellar on 5s. a week (2s. 6d. from the husband and 2s. 6d. from the Guardians); after paying rent they had only 2½d. a day left to provide food for the whole family and lived on bread and water. Such tragedies became less frequent except in periods of bad trade when for many families there was no income at all. At these times the Guardians gave relief to the extent of 1s. 6d. a week per head, started sewing classes for young women, and opened soup kitchens. A great deal of

assistance was given by charitable organisations such as the Town Missions and the Y.M.C.A. Trade unions, friendly societies, and miners' relief societies also came to the rescue of their members in sickness and unemployment.

In normal years during 1870-80 approximately £90 each week was expended on "outdoor" relief to about 900 persons, i.e. 200 families. In a period of depression, the numbers naturally increased; e.g. in September 1879, relief was given weekly to 3,300 persons, but this number was reduced to 2,800 in the following April and to 1,475 in September 1880. By 1889 the weekly number of persons on relief was fairly constant at 1,100, i.e. one pauper in 78 of the total population. The poor rate fell from 6½d. in the £ in 1878 to 4¾d. in 1895.

The Guardians were much concerned about the problem of vagrancy, since some hundreds of tramps passed through Burnley each week and many of them demanded assistance. The Guardians found the greatest difficulty in providing lodging-room for these casuals, and therefore in 1868 rented a room next door to the Court House in Keighley Green as a vagrant ward. Since Police Superintendent Alexander lived quite near, it was thought that the vagrants would be persuaded to move to the next town as soon as possible. When the vagrancy wards at the new Workhouse were opened in 1887, the Guardians insisted on baths before bed, and work before breakfast; the sequel was that "few vagrants now come to Burnley but Clitheroe Union finds its numbers increasing." In 1889 it was stated that vagrants only came to Burnley during the weekends (Sundays being free from work) and were missing on weekdays.

The new Workhouse, which had cost £27,500, was officially opened in January 1877 though paupers had been housed there since March 1876. It could accommodate 350 paupers in much more comfort than the old Workhouse in Royle Road had offered and the inmates slept on woollen flock beds instead of straw. The paupers, generally numbering 150-200, were housed in separate wards according to age and sex, and were classified as "aged and infirm," "temporarily disabled," or "able bodied"; the latter were set to work in the Cemetery, Recreation Grounds, and Workhouse fields, or as street-sweepers. Further buildings were added to the Workhouse as necessity demanded. The 22 male and 21 female paupers of unsound mind were accommodated in 1878 in two rooms, each measuring only 20 feet by 18 feet, with little or no furniture; more rooms were therefore built. At first, the children, too, were badly housed, and 46 girls had to sleep in eight beds in a dormitory 8 yards by 6 yards; in the sick

wards, children had to share beds with adults. To remedy these defects, six cottage homes were provided for the children where they were cared for by foster mothers, and a new Union Infirmary was built. These improvements owed much to the influence of Dr. Brumwell, who was much concerned about the high death rate among children.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES.

The outstanding feature in sport during this period (1870-1900) was the striking advance of football in popular favour. It soon began to out-rival the summer game and attracted thousands of spectators. For some years the rugby game was played by all the premier clubs—Burnley Rovers, Calder Vale, St. Andrew's, and Padiham. In 1881 they adopted the "Association" code and were soon joined by numerous other clubs, Burnley Olympic, Excelsior Ramblers, Wanderers, Union Star, Mount Pleasant, Burnley Lane Rovers, Holy Trinity, Belvedere, St. Stephen's, etc. As there was no league all the matches were "friendly." The "Burnley" team, associated with the Cricket Club at Turf Moor, soon became prominent and played matches against the leading Lancashire teams. In 1883 Dr. Dean presented a Charity Cup to be competed for by local teams on condition that all receipts at matches played in the competition should be given to the proposed Hospital. The Hospital Committee later presented another Charity Cup.

In June 1888 a Football League was founded in which Burnley formed one of the original twelve clubs. In the next year, the development of league football was carried a stage further by the formation of a North East Lancashire League to which Burnley II (later known as "Burnley Swifts") was attached; its nearest rivals were Nelson and Brierfield. By 1892, in addition to the (English) Football League and the N.E. Lancashire League, or Lancashire Combination (as it was later called), three more leagues had been formed locally, the Lancashire League (to which Nelson had transferred), the Burnley and District League (which included St. Matthew's) and "Clegg's" (including Belvedere, Brierfield United, Bankhouse, and Ormerod). The Burnley Junior League was formed in 1894 and was composed of Albion Star, Finsley Rovers, Lord St. Swifts, Springhill Swifts, Towneley Star, Vale of Leven, Victoria Rovers, and Whittlefield Central.

The organisation of the senior leagues continued with little change, and after some re-grouping in 1896, the junior leagues were for a number of years comparatively stable. They

comprised:— Burnley and District, Burnley and District Combination, Sunday School "A" (eight teams), "B" (eight teams), Burnley and District Junior (eight teams) and Whittlefield Junior (11 teams).

The development of cricket was hampered by lack of suitable grounds. In addition to the Burnley and Lowerhouse clubs, the only teams that played regularly in 1880 were St. Andrew's, St. Peter's, Union Star, and the Y.M.C.A. A Burnley Cricket League was formed in 1890 and consisted of Bethesda, the Careless Boys, Colne Road Wesleyans, Druids, Enon, Old Hall St., Red Lion St., Whittlefield United and Fulfilled United. For senior clubs the N.E. Lancashire League was formed in 1891 and Burnley and Lowerhouse soon became prominent members. By 1896 the following Leagues were in existence: N.E. Lancs. (Burnley and Lowerhouse), Ribblesdale (St. Andrew's), Burnley and District, Sunday School "A" and "B." In the Sunday School League appeared St. Andrew's, Pickup Croft, St. Matthew's, St. John's, St. Stephen's, Healey Wood, Lincoln St., Colne Road Wesleyans, and Westgate.

Two tennis clubs, one at Bank Hall and the other at Ightenhill were formed about 1884. Mr. F. J. Grant was the secretary of the Bank Hall Club, which within a year or two, was good enough to challenge the famous "Mersey" and the Manchester Clubs; in 1888 it took over courts in Cronkshaw Meadows.

The Burnley Golf Club was formed in 1894 and played on links at Hapton. Within three months of its formation the Club had a membership of 135 including 35 ladies. The existing Burnley Golf Club was established in 1905.

A successful Burnley Cycling Club was started in 1885 and continued for many years. Mr. C. J. Massey was a keen supporter and presented a cup for competition.

The Annual Athletic Sports which had been held since 1866 by the Burnley Cricket Club continued to draw large crowds; rival meetings were held after 1873 by the Lowerhouse Club. A very ambitious scheme to make Burnley a centre for all athletics was started in 1895 with the formation of the Burnley Athletic Company to buy and lay out grounds in Fulfilled bounded by Morse Street, Culshaw Street, Mitella Street, and Olympic Street. With some shrewdness, the promoters pointed out that should the scheme fail the land could be sold for building purposes. The first Annual Athletic Sports were held in 1896 and prizes to the value of £100 were offered for flat races, jumps, 10 mile cycle races. etc. Several

meetings of less importance and with a smaller programme were held during the year. At fairly frequent intervals over a few years about 1890, the Bull and Butcher offered its patrons field events, with an occasional wrestling match.

ENTERTAINMENT.

For three years after the closing of the Theatre Royal in Elizabeth Street, Burnley people had to depend for theatrical entertainment on travelling theatres and touring companies. In 1870, however, a large wooden structure was erected on the Cattle Market by a Mr. Lichfield and became known as "The Victoria Theatre" or "Lichfield's." Its performances varied between melodrama and music hall turns, while at times it became the scene of professional billiard matches. The dramas included "Ticket of Leave Man," "The Dumb Girl" "Hollow Tree Wood" and "The Miller and his Man." Pantomime was given in the winter months. This particular theatre closed down about 1878.

In 1880 Mr. Culeen of Burnley erected "a large handsome wooden structure" on the Cattle Market "capable of holding 3,000 persons." The usual melodramas and variety turns were given with an occasional circus performance as an additional attraction. To judge from newspaper reports, the contortions of "Leroni," the human boa constrictor" were particularly thrilling. Prices ranged from 1s. 6d. to 3d. though on Saturday nights children were admitted to the gallery for 1d. The building was taken down, remodelled and re-erected at a cost of £1,000, and opened on Sept. 15th, 1883, as "The Gaiety Theatre and Opera House." The programme was changed for each performance, and during one week one might have seen "Queen's Evidence," "At the Sword's Point," "Shaughram," "Sindbad" and "Stowaway." For five years the old prices of 1s. 6d. to 3d. were maintained, but at last in 1888 they had to be reduced to 1s. to 1d. Not content with the "Gaiety," Mr. Culeen brought his circus from Hyde and established it in the Cattle Market in November 1889. In the second week of January 1890, therefore, Burnley people had the choice between "Babes in the Wood" at the Gaiety and "The Fall of Khartoum" in the Circus in which "100 horses and men take part." The Circus was closed after two years and Mr. Culeen concentrated his energies on the Gaiety.

Meanwhile in 1876 Howarth's Mill in Brown Street had been fitted up as a theatre and opened as "The Theatre Royal" on August 28th by Messrs. Gillespie and Whalley. It was the largest permanent theatre that Burnley had ever

possessed, but the building, described as "dilapidated" and "that wretched hovel in Brown Street," was quite unsuited to its new purpose. Danger of fire was always present, and no smoking was allowed "except in the smoke room." On the whole, the promoters aimed to provide a higher standard of dramatic fare; it was certainly more varied than in previous Burnley theatres. Among the attractions billed were "Il Trovatore" and "The Bohemian Girl," "Richelieu," and "Hamlet," spectacular shows such as "Bosco's Fairy Fountains with real perfumed water," and "Uncle Tom's Cabin, with 51 players of whom 31 are actually freed slaves." There was also variety presented by the "Allnuts," and musical entertainments by "The Red Rose Christy Minstrels" (a Burnley Company) and "Hague's Minstrels." Comic sketches, "The Member for Slocum" and "A moral lesson for husbands," appeared alongside melodramas like "Still Waters" and "Outlawed Son." Unfortunately the building was completely destroyed by fire in 1889, and the proprietors, who had not insured the building, were practically ruined. Among the artistes who had appeared on its boards were Charles Dillon (three times), Miss Alleyne, Henry Lorraine, T. C. King, and J. W. Turner's Opera Company.

The opening of the Victoria Assembly Rooms (now the Victoria Theatre) on Tuesday, Sept. 14th, 1886, was an event of great importance, for at last the town possessed a theatre worthy of the name. The opening took the form of a concert at which the artistes were Mlle. Trebelli and Mons. V. Pachmann, supported by the Leeds and Scarborough Harmonic Society, but on the remaining evenings of the opening week J. L. Toole's Company played "The Upper Crust." During the first twenty years of its existence, the Victoria was used for drama, variety and good concerts, and Mr. W. C. Horner, its proprietor and manager, who had earlier promoted high-class concerts in Burnley, maintained a remarkably high standard in his new venture. For example, in one week in December, 1886, one evening was devoted to a performance of Spohr's "Last Judgment," followed by miscellaneous items contributed by Mr. Santley, Miss Horner (Burnley's prima donna), W. A. Cruikshank and F. Myers (Burnley's leading musicians), and for the remainder of the week W. S. Gilbert's "Tom Cobb" was given. Opera companies, including those of Turner, D'Oyle Carte, and Carl Rosa made frequent visits. Among the more famous actors who came to the Victoria in its earlier years were Osmund Tearle and Wilson Barrett. Variety turns were occasionally introduced and Burnley audiences were entertained by the comic antics and patter of Little Tich and by the amazing performances of "Fifteen Educated Horses."

In 1894, Tunstall's Mill was taken over by Mr. Horner and rebuilt as "The Empire Music Hall." It was opened on October 28th, 1894, and became the home of Variety. It was completed reconstructed in 1911.

The hall behind the Market Hotel had a chequered career after 1870 when its name alternated between "Theatre Royal" and "The People's Concert Hall." The proprietor, Mr. J. Allen, provided drama of the usual type and made a charge of 4d. for the best seats and 2d. in the pit; in 1871 the prices were slightly raised, and in return better music hall turns were promised. The hall was re-decorated and made "warm and comfortable" in 1879, but though it was now known as "The Theatre of Varieties" and introduced such shows as "Revelations by a woman in a trance" and "The Magician," it could not meet the competition of the other theatres and had to open only at intervals. In 1883 it was taken over by Mr. Gillespie and for fifteen years continued as a music hall; the interior of the building was completely burnt out in 1898.

Musical entertainment, both vocal and instrumental, continued to be widely popular. There were frequent performances by the larger chapel choirs of the favourite oratorios, "Messiah," "Creation," and "Elijah," while a less ambitious but perhaps equally popular attraction was the "Service of Song" in which suitable readings alternated with hymns and sacred songs. Local choral societies, notably that conducted by Mr. E. S. Massey, rendered each year one or more classical works, such as "Judas Maccabaeus," Mozart's "Twelfth Mass" and "Stabat Mater," while Mr. C. Slater's "Vocal Union" contributed each year one of Mr. E. Slater's original operettas based on episodes in local history. Most attractive subscription concerts were arranged during the whole period 1870-1900 by Mr. T. Pollard, Mr. T. Simpson, Mr. H. Spencer and Mr. W. C. Horner. At these concerts, for which the admission charges often ranged from 10s. to 2s. Burnley people heard the most famous singers, choirs and musicians of the day, including Charles Halle, Halle's Band, Sims Reeves, Charles Santley, Mme. Patti, F. H. Cowen, Mlle. Isidor, Signor Foli and Carl Fuchs. "The Saturday Pop. Concerts," arranged by the directors of the Mechanics, were given fortnightly during 1890 and 1891. At first, the concerts, at which leading local artistes gave their services, were well attended but they eventually lost their popularity, perhaps because they were held too frequently.

Entertainments of a lighter character, given by travelling companies in the Mechanics' or the Church Institute, were less numerous after 1880. It seemed after that date that

Burnley audiences were attracted only by something unique or by the most famous of English artistes. Miss Lydia Howard, aged 10, "a world-famous actress and vocalist," George Grossmith "and his humourous and musical Society," and Albert Chevalier (1890-3) seem to have been general favourites in Burnley. Much less pretentious were the Saturday night concerts given by the Y.M.C.A. in their rooms in St. James' Row, and by the Temperance Mission in a mill-shed near Curzon Street bridge. The Blue Ribbon Society, Bands of Hope, and other temperance societies gave many concerts in the hope that they would prove a counter-attraction to the public houses. Nor must it be forgotten that frequent Saturday evening concerts and entertainments were an important part of the social activities of all churches and Sunday schools.

The popularity of panorama shows declined rapidly after 1880 and soon they were regarded as old-fashioned. Magic lantern exhibitions appeared in 1881 and one entitled "Burnley, old and new," received very favourable comment. In 1892 a novelty was introduced when slides were shown at the Lowerhouse Wesleyan School illustrating the story of the Prodigal Son and projecting on the screen the words of appropriate hymns. For some time, the magic lantern entertainment was most popular. In 1896, the Empire presented, for the first time in Burnley, the "Theatrograph" or "Animated Pictures," the first authentic form of cinematograph. The pictures were quite short, limited in topic, and "jumped" badly on the screen. The entertainment came three times in 1896, but few changes were made in the programme; among the pictures were "A Railway Station," "The Serpentine," and a "comic" depicting a gardener and a small boy carrying a hose pipe. The newspaper reported that the comic was easily the most popular. In April, 1897, the "Animated Pictures" comprised "The Lord Mayor's Show," "A Train," "Fire Brigade," "Cavalry," and what was far more novel and interesting "Crowds near the Burnley Gaumless on Sunday," "A football match between Burnley and Dundee," and "A race at the Burnley Athletic Ground."

The "phonograph," predecessor of the modern gramophone, first made its appearance in Burnley in November 1889 at a lecture in the Mechanics'. It is said that the room was packed to overflowing.

Few weeks passed without bazaars or tea-parties, organised by churches and chapels of every denomination, literary societies, friendly societies, football clubs, trade unions and benevolent institutions. Additional interest was lent to a bazaar when it could boast "Ye olde Englishe

markette" or "An African village," or, as in one instance, "An ice cave." Tea-parties, generally of the "knife and fork" variety, were held on every possible occasion.

A new form of amusement came in 1881 with the opening of two skating rinks, the "Alexandra" in Basket Street, and "The Prince of Wales" (re-named in 1887 the "Jubilee") in Hammerton Street. The Alexandra charged 6d. for admission and 3d. for the use of skates; the floor was of asphalt and 700 persons attended weekly. The Prince of Wales was larger than its rival and had a floor space of 34 yards by 18 yards.

Two or three times each year children as well as many adults enjoyed a cheaper form of entertainment when the town received a visit from one of the famous circuses, such as Wombwell's or Sanger's. The procession of elephants, camels, horses, ponies and caravans roused great excitement, only surpassed by a visit to the tents where all the wonders of the world might be seen—sea-serpents, gorillas, "Chang, the tallest man in the world," etc. At fair time, too, there was much to take one's fancy in the vicinity of the Cattle Market—a dozen shooting galleries, a hundred caravans, stalls and booths, a horse fair and the "hobby-horses."

Throughout the whole period efforts were made to raise the standard of culture, whether by means of entertainment or of serious study. Young Men's Mutual Improvement Societies, held in connection with churches and chapels, Working Men's Improvement Societies, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., discussion groups, literary societies, etc., were evidence of the desire for "self-education." The "Penny Readings" and "Orations" seem to have fallen out of favour and "Spelling Bees" were not popular. Young men paid greater attention to literary and historical studies, and one Society, connected with Westgate Chapel, obtained each year the loan of copies or originals of famous pictures which they placed on exhibition: one or two clubs concentrated on handicrafts. Gilchrist Lectures, Oxford University Extension Lectures, and Courses of Popular Lectures given by leading authorities, were well supported.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

In spite of the improvements in street paving, the number of cabs, "growlers" and "hansoms" plying for hire in the town, did not rise above thirty. The owners maintained that the charges, as fixed by the Council, were too high, but

it was not until 1882 that they were allowed to reduce them by 50%. Then began the decline of the livery stables from which business men had hired horses and gigs, but the concession proved of little benefit to cab drivers who had to face new competition from the steam tramways. By 1884 cab-stands were to be found in Red Lion Street, Parker Street, Trafalgar Street, Piccadilly Road, Huffling Lane, Hebrew Road, and at the Wellington and Bank Top. Buses drawn by horses continued to run hourly between Wood Top and Barden Lane until 1884, when tramway competition ruined the enterprise.

In November, 1879, the local newspapers advertised the formation of a Company to promote a Bill in Parliament for the construction of tramlines and the running of steam trams between Nelson, Burnley and Padiham. The Company, which had its head office in London, was successful in raising most of its capital in Burnley, and after the scheme had received Parliamentary sanction began to lay down the track. Owing to the narrowness of streets and roads, the track was a single one with twelve loops where the trams might pass. The first trial run was made in August, 1881, but the engine, a "Kitson," broke down in Westgate and had to be hauled back by horses to the depot at Queensgate. A week or two later, when all was ready for the opening, the Board of Trade Inspector refused to allow the trams to run through the narrow Church Street but later withdrew his veto on condition that the maximum speed of the trams in Church Street should be four miles per hour; the maximum speed on other stretches was 8 m.p.h. For some weeks the trams were allowed to operate but the engines emitted so much steam and smoke and made so much noise that the Corporation insisted they must be improved. At the end of April, 1882, therefore, horses were used for traction until a new engine, the "Loughborough," could be obtained. The new engine unfortunately exploded near the Tim Bobbin on its trial run and more delay occurred. When all was ready for the service and the requisite number of Loughboroughs had been bought, the Corporation, having spent large sums of money on widening the streets and resetting the roadways and pavements, insisted that the Tramway Company should bear part of the cost. Further delays followed, and for a time steam trams ran from the depot to Nelson and horse trams from the depot to Padiham. At last, in March, 1883, the dispute was settled and once more the Company was allowed to run steam trams through Burnley. There were so many breakdowns, however, that for a time the Company had to use horse-drawn trams between the Gawmless and St. Peter's. It was not until February, 1885, that there was a regular through service between Nelson and Padiham.

The Company eventually had a fleet of 13 engines and 12 cars with which a twenty minute service was maintained. The fare from Burnley to Padiham was 3d. though this charge was occasionally raised at peak periods to prevent overcrowding. Frequent complaints were made about the smoke, steam, noise, accidents and the irregular service.

The most important changes in the local railways were the opening of the Burnley-Padiham-Blackburn line in 1875 for goods and in 1876 for passengers, the construction of the "down" platform at Bank Top (Central) Station, and the extension of the sidings at Rose Grove in 1894. There were many complaints about high transport charges, slackness in the collection and delivery of goods, the bad train service, and the wet and dirty carriages. However genuine might have been the grievances of business men, there is no doubt that railway excursions at holiday times were extremely popular. The fare for a day at Morecambe or Blackpool was only 2s. 9d. and the excursionists could get away to an early start at 4-30 a.m.; a three or four days' trip to London cost 10s. On one day in 1880 some 2,300 went to Blackpool, 1,300 to Liverpool, 300 to Matlock and an unknown number to Manchester. During the fair holiday of 1883, 18,000 passengers were carried on day trips, and this number rose to 20,000 in 1888. In 1890, 35 special trains carrying 22,000 people left Burnley on the Thursday and Friday of the holidays, and a further 16,000 left for day excursions on the Saturday and Monday. Altham's Booking Agency was started about 1882 and proved a great boon to holidaymakers.

Several projects for new railways were launched but none was adopted. In 1874 the proposal to build a line from Burnley to Bacup, Rochdale, and Manchester, was revived but once more received little support in this district. In 1886 an attempt was made to raise capital for the construction of a line from Accrington to Read, Whalley and Clitheroe, with a branch line from Read to Sabden. The promoters believed that the line would open up the trade of Sabden and were surprised that the villagers were only willing to take up five £1 shares. A modification of the scheme was issued in the following year, the proposed route being Burnley, Read, Whalley and Barrow, with a branch line to Sabden, but once again there was no response. Still another suggestion was made in 1887 for a railway from Burnley to Rawtenstall and Bury; some of the manufacturers in the Rossendale area, particularly at Goodshaw, were enthusiastic, but the Burnley manufacturers considered the engineering difficulties were too great. When this project was abandoned, leading men in Rawtenstall advocated in 1889 the construction of a steam tramway to Burnley; this

scheme also came to nothing since the officials at Habergham Eaves objected to the disturbing of their peace and quiet. Towards the end of the century, a proposal was made to link by rail Whalley, Read (for Sabden), Roughlee, Barrowford, Nelson and Colne; this plan was dropped before a prospectus could be printed.

Telephones were apparently first used in Burnley in 1881 when one or two fire alarm boxes and telephones were installed in parts of the town and connected with the new Fire Station in Manchester Road; other fire alarm boxes were fitted with electric bells. Such an installation, it was said, made Burnley's fire-warning system the most complete in England, outside London. The total cost of telephones, alarms and wiring amounted to £1,250. In 1881 the Lancashire and Cheshire Telephone Exchange Company set up offices and a telephone exchange in Hargreaves Street; standards were erected and by June, "thirty people had ordered telephones."

CHAPTER III

Burnley, 1900 to the Present.

The history of Burnley in the last half-century, the development of the town and its amenities, the changes in the mode of life and the outlook of its inhabitants, have been no less extensive and profound than at any previous period in its long story; but they are so much a part of our everyday experience that the briefest summary will serve to indicate the most important aspects.

It has already been seen how the appearance and lay-out of Burnley were improved during the late 19th century by widening the main highways, making a "Centre," and adopting bye-laws to govern all future building operations. Provision was thus made for the orderly development of the town, and the Borough Councils of the period may be excused for not anticipating the tremendous changes that were later to take place, when even wider thoroughfares would have to be provided and supplemented by "by-pass" roads to accommodate the increased traffic, and when the hundreds of new stone-built, four to five-roomed terraced houses, the pride of builders and owners, would be regarded as drab, out of date, and lacking in air and space.

During the earlier years of the 20th century, it seemed that all the Borough Council would have to do would be to pursue the policy laid down by its predecessors and carry on with the planning of new streets and houses of the traditional type. By 1920, however, two factors necessitated the adoption of a programme that had little in common with past policy. One factor was the emergence of a new traffic problem, caused by the sudden development of motor transport. Cars, lorries, buses, and coaches, which yearly grew not only in numbers but also in size and speed, forced the highway authorities to undertake the construction of new roads, eliminate bends on old ones, and finally abandon the surface of granite sets in favour of asphalt and tarmac. The second and more important factor was the need to formulate and begin to carry out a completely new housing policy, made necessary by revolutionary changes in the related fields of public health and acceptable housing standards. The result was seen in the demolition of whole areas of congested slum property, so that the worst legacy of the Industrial Revolution was at last removed. To replace the slums, "Corporation Houses" of a modern type were erected in the

healthier surroundings of the suburbs, with the result that the population of Burnley is now more widely dispersed than at any other period in its history.

During the first decade of the 20th century, private builders erected many houses to meet the needs of an increasing population. Many of these new houses were built for the working classes in areas already under development, such as the district of St. Andrew's, but many were erected on a "ribbon development" plan on the roads near the Prairie and the Summit for the more prosperous manufacturers, traders and professional classes. The rise in building prices after the First World War and the continued shortage of artisan dwellings "to let" at length compelled the Government to sponsor a policy of subsidised house building by local authorities. Under this scheme, the Burnley Council in 1919 adopted a housing programme for the provision of 282 houses on what was termed "The Manchester Road Site" and 96 on the Palace House site. Almost before the programme was completed, the Government urged the demolition of all existing slum areas and the transference of the displaced tenants to Corporation houses which were to be built in healthier surroundings. Under the new scheme of 1930 nearly 2,500 houses of the worst type were demolished, and thus the menace to health from the wretched courts, alleys, back-to-back dwellings and tenements in Bridge Street, Salford, Pickup Croft, Hill Top, Lane Bridge, Finsley and Gannow was removed. The displaced people, numbering nearly 6,000, eventually found new homes on the Corporation housing sites in Eastern Avenue, Casterton Avenue, Stoops, etc. The outbreak of the Second World War stopped all house-building so that at its end a very severe shortage of houses was experienced. The problem was so complicated by lack of material and labour and by high prices that the Council was compelled to adopt the expedient of building temporary and semi-permanent houses to supplement those of traditional type. A marked feature of the houses erected under the later schemes has been the attention given to internal planning to make the best use of the space available, and the provision of modern labour-saving devices. Another feature has been the attempt to meet the special needs of large families, and the aged and infirm.

During the last twenty years, therefore, one of the greatest improvements in the long history of Burnley has been accomplished. But apart from the social benefits of the housing programme, the siting of the new development areas on the outskirts of the town has tended to create a "zoning"

plan which is in marked contrast with the haphazard building schemes of a century ago. At that time, the Centre, St. James's Street, Hargreaves Street, and Grimshaw Street were industrial as well as residential districts, but at the present time they are almost solely used for shopping, amusement and business; thus, the mills, warehouses, engineering works and smithies that once existed near the heart of the town have either been demolished or put to other uses, while their successors have been built in a limited number of districts away from the central area. The bulk of the population now lives in the areas that were developed in the late 19th century and in the outer circle of Corporation Housing Estates.

The increase in the size and number of residential districts has necessarily brought about a serious encroachment on the agricultural land which served as a very desirable green belt round the congested town of the late 19th century. Its loss has been minimised by the policy of the Borough Council in providing wide, tree-lined roads, gardens, and, occasionally, communal open spaces in its Housing Estates, and in acquiring land for public parks, recreation grounds, and gardens. Through the public-spirited generosity of Lady O'Hagan, Towneley was acquired for almost a nominal sum. The Park was opened in 1902 and on May 2nd of the following year, the Earl of Rosebery opened the Towneley Hall Museum and Art Gallery. Further land at Towneley amounting to 173 acres was bought in 1925 and here, playing fields, tennis courts, and a golf course were laid out and the Massey Music Pavilion was erected. In 1906 Sir John Thursby presented part of Cronkshaw Meadow to the town, and a small park with the new Station Approach was made; the "Thursby Gardens" were opened in 1910. In 1909 Lord Shuttleworth gave five acres of land at Ightenhill for a park, and these with a further seven acres formed Ightenhill Park which was opened in 1912. Thompson Park, opened in 1930, was purchased with the £50,000 bequeathed to the Corporation by Mr. J. W. Thompson.

At the present time, Burnley possesses five parks covering nearly 211 acres, twenty-five recreation grounds and numerous open spaces with a total area of 207 acres.

In 1901 the population of Burnley was a little over 97,000; it reached its peak in 1911 when the census showed that there were 106,322 persons living in the Borough. Afterwards, a falling birth rate and a steady emigration to more prosperous areas brought about a decline in the population until in 1946 it stood at 82,680. During the last four years,

a rising birth rate and a small immigration into the town have resulted in a slight increase of population which was estimated in 1949 at 84,560.

The serious decline of the birth rate in the last fifty years has been a serious factor in the assessing of future trends. In 1900 it stood as high as 30 per 1,000 population, but from that point it began to fall until in 1938 it reached its lowest level at 12 per 1,000. During the war years there was little change but in 1945 it increased to 17.33, and in 1946 to 19.24 per 1,000. In 1948 the figure stood at 17.35.

The effect on population brought about by a falling birth rate has been offset to some extent by a considerable reduction in the death rate. In the early 80's the death rate in Burnley was about 23 per 1,000 of the population, but this was reduced to 17 in the first decade of the 20th century, and was further lowered to 14 for the period 1932-36. During the following ten years it averaged a little over 15, and is now about 15.5 per 1,000. One effect of the improvement in the general health of the people has been to increase the percentage of old persons in the total population of the town. This may be illustrated by the fact that in 1938 47.7% of the total deaths in Burnley were of persons aged 65 and upwards.

HABITS AND CHARACTERISTICS.

The last fifty years have witnessed almost a revolution in the habits and characteristics of the people. Shorter working hours, higher wages, better houses, and increased social services have brought about a higher standard of living, an improvement in health, and a more enlightened outlook on life. Drunkenness, crime, and destitution have nearly disappeared, and workers take a greater pride in themselves and their homes. The long week-end and the early-closing day (compulsory since 1914) afford more leisure time than ever before, and thus most people are able to follow their bent. Football, cricket, golf, bowls, tennis, cycling, and hiking are the most popular sports and have almost completely replaced the less desirable pursuits of pigeon-flying and dog coursing which were so common in the mid-19th century. Of indoor entertainments, the cinema has, perhaps, the widest appeal, but the very great use that is made of both public and private libraries shows what a large part reading and study play in the lives of the people. Music and drama have many followers; and there is reason for satisfaction in the facilities available for enjoying the best professional performances, and in the large number of

amateur organisations whose productions so often reach a remarkably high standard, reflecting the utmost credit on the talents and enthusiasm of their members. Nor should one forget the very valuable work carried out in the Municipal College, School of Art, Continuation Schools, and Workers' Educational Association classes where hundreds of students undertake courses of study that have both an educational and cultural value. The enlargement of personal interests and knowledge has been stimulated by greater opportunities for travel during holiday periods, and many people are no longer content with day-trips or week-ends at Blackpool but prefer an extended motor tour in England or on the Continent.

The changed outlook of the working classes is also reflected in their dress. The loud rattle of clogs on the pavement as hundreds of men, women, and children hurried to the mills in the early morning is a thing of the past; and one rarely sees nowadays the old-fashioned Lancashire shawl. The women workers in particular have broken away from the traditional style of workaday dress when the poorest of clothes were good enough for the factory. In fact, the old custom of having clothes designated "Sunday best," "second best," and "working clothes" seems to have been abandoned; and though, nowadays, there may be special clothes for special occasions, in general there is little to distinguish the dress worn at work and that worn in the evenings or at week-ends. Higher wages have had much to do with this desirable change, but the improvements in mill conditions, the success in combating the smoke evil, and the improvements in street cleansing have made it practicable. Iron boot-scrapers, those relics of past days, which may still be seen near the doorsteps of mid-19th century houses, serve as a reminder of the mud and dirt that used to be found in nearly all the streets of the town.

SPORTS.

The popularity of football and cricket has become very marked during the last fifty years. Large crowds watch the premier teams while the increase in the number of amateur teams has made the provision of playing fields a major problem. Tennis and golf are no longer sports for the well-to-do only, since municipal enterprise in providing a golf course at Towneley and 33 tennis courts in the parks has popularised these sports among the less wealthy. Similarly, the game of bowls, which was formerly almost exclusively confined to public houses after the Bull introduced the game about 1800, has grown in popularity, and 14 public bowling greens have been made in the parks.

Skating rinks, which appeared a little before 1900, reached the height of their popularity about 1909, when most support was given to the "Palace Pavilion" (Church Street), the "Olympic" (Trafalgar Street), the "Coliseum" (near Duke Bar), and the "Pentridge" (Oxford Road). Rink hockey teams were formed and a hockey league established; one Burnley team achieved almost national fame. The popularity of the sport waned after 1909 and most of the rinks became picture houses or dance halls.

ENTERTAINMENT.

In 1900 the two chief places of entertainment in Burnley were the "Victoria" and the "Empire," the latter of which was entirely reconstructed in 1911. The "Victoria" continued to present plays, light opera, and, on occasions, classical concerts; the "Empire" was the home of variety, and introduced to its audiences the most famous music-hall artistes of the time. The supremacy of these two theatres was challenged in 1908 when the "Palace and Hippodrome" was opened. This, too, was a variety theatre for the most part, though it turned to "straight" plays and musical comedies from time to time. The "Gaiety" in the Cattle Market was demolished in 1916.

After 1900 the most important feature in the entertainment world was the rapid development of the cinematograph, and soon many buildings were taken over and adapted for the purpose. In 1908 "moving pictures" were being shown at "Andrews' Picture Hall" (Church Institute), and by 1910 the "New Temperance Hall" (Parker Lane), the "Pentridge," "Colliseum," and "Ruskin Hall" (Trafalgar Street) had been opened. Other small ones included the "West End" (Gannow Lane), and "Stoneyholme." Later, the larger cinemas were built in the central area of the town; and in the various outlying districts, smaller ones were provided, the older improvised buildings being replaced or rebuilt. Both the "Empire" and the "Palace" eventually changed over to "pictures" (the latter after at least one "relapse" to its former status), and the "Victoria" took over the role of music hall, with short seasons of drama, opera and musical comedy each year. "Talkies" first appeared in Burnley at the Savoy in 1929.

A memorable time for drama and music lovers was during the late war, when the Old Vic Company and the Sadlers Wells Ballet, bombed out of their London home, made the Victoria (Burnley) their temporary headquarters. A rich

repast of drama, opera and ballet, unique in the town's experience, was enjoyed for several years, and world-famous theatrical celebrities, like Sybil Thorndike and Esme Church, Lewis Casson and Tyrone Guthrie, Margot Fonteyne and Robert Helpmann, were familiar figures amongst us.

Music has always been a marked feature of the cultural life of Burnley. When a family succeeded in rising above the barest subsistence level, the first ambition was usually to buy a piano or other musical instrument, and children were encouraged to pass long hours at "practice" in the hope of becoming "prodigies" or at least of taking part in one of the local concerts. The Philharmonic Society, which began about 1900, absorbed the best instrumentalists. Under its conductor, Mr. Fred Myers, the "Philharmonic" gave many excellent Sunday Evening concerts; it was re-organised in 1918 and became the Municipal Symphony Orchestra. For many years the Choral Union was the chief Society devoted to vocal music. Great encouragement was given to local singers, musicians, and choirs when the first Burnley Musical Festival was promoted in 1909 by Mr. T. Taylor. In 1908 the long-established Habergham Glee Union won the 50 guinea Cup at the Southport Festival. Among the most famous artistes who visited Burnley in the first quarter of the 20th century were Mme. Albani, Mme. Butt, and Kubelik.

CHANGES IN TRANSPORT.

The first great change in transport after 1900 came about when the Corporation bought the Steam Tramway system for £53,000 to convert it into the Corporation Electric Tramways. On January 4th 1902 the first electric car ran through to Nelson; the track was formally opened on March 26th 1902. Various street alterations were made, particularly in Church Street and near the Grammar School where the old Gothic Houses were demolished, and part of their site with some of the adjacent plantation was added to the roadway. The extension of the Tramways to Rosegrove, Manchester Road, Harle Syke and Towneley was authorised in 1908.

Finally, the electric tramway system was abandoned in favour of motor omnibuses. An experimental service with the new form of transport was begun in March 1924 between Abel Street and the Cattle Market, and this proved so successful that in 1932 a regular bus service was substituted for tramcars on the Harle Syke — Rosegrove route. The Manchester Road — Towneley and Brunshaw routes were opened in 1934, and the trams were completely abandoned on May 8th 1935.

when the remaining section, Nelson—Padiham, was taken over by buses. A joint committee to operate the undertakings of Burnley, Nelson and Colne took over the control of the passenger transport undertakings of the respective Corporations from 1st April 1933.

The great expansion of private, public, and commercial motor traffic has been one of the main features of the history of transport during the 20th century. Even before 1900, one or two families were the proud possessors of an "automobile," but by 1902 the number of privileged owners had so much increased that the "Burnley Automobile Club" came into existence, and on August 16th in the same year held its inaugural run to Gisburn. A start was made from the Cattle Market, but several of the cars did not get out of the town, more failed at Blacko, and only two managed to reach Gisburn. Since those early days, private cars and long-distance buses and motor-coaches have so enormously increased available travel facilities, both for business and pleasure, that widespread social changes have resulted. At the same time, motor vans and lorries have taken over all local traffic and much of the long-distance transport of goods formerly handled exclusively by the railways.

CHAPTER IV.

Local Government.

The old system of government by parish officials worked well as long as Burnley remained a small rural community, but it was ill-suited to control an expanding industrial town. In 1819 therefore the "Burnley Improvement Act" was passed under which Improvement Commissioners were appointed to take over certain duties within the "Police Circle," an area of 1,131 acres lying within a circle of $\frac{3}{4}$ mile radius from the mere-stone opposite the Thorn Inn. The Act of 1819 however remained inoperative and it was not until 1846 that another Burnley Improvement Act was passed which effected a real change in local government. Under the new Act of 1846, the Police Circle was retained and divided into three wards, Habergham Eaves with 24 Commissioners, Burnley North and Burnley South, each with 18 Commissioners. Only those rate-payers who occupied premises within the Circle of a rateable value of £20 could be nominated and elected as Commissioners.

The Act of 1846 which was passed "for better paving, lighting, cleansing, regulating and improving the town and for better supplying the inhabitants with water and gas" empowered the Commissioners to buy "the whole of the property and plant consisting of Calf Hey Well with lands, reservoirs and general interest therein" which belonged to the Burnley Water Company. The initial cost was £11,500 but within a short time the Commissioners had constructed Heckenhurst Reservoir and reorganised the whole system of Burnley's water supply at a further cost of £26,000. This was the most important part of the work of the Commission of 1846-54 but they also did good work in repairing some of the streets, highways and bridges. Some ratepayers complained of the expensive improvements and increased rates, while others demanded more amenities and pointed to the need for a park and arboretum, public baths, a cemetery and, above all, the abolition of nuisances, that, at times, made life almost unbearable. Many complaints were also made that the gas supply provided by the Burnley Gas Company was impure, inadequate, and expensive. The Commissioners replied that they could not undertake any other great improvements without further powers; accordingly, in spite of the criticism expressed at two public meetings, they resolved to ask Parliament for the necessary power to embark on wider schemes. Mr. Richard Shaw, a Burnley lawyer, presented the case for the Commissioners, and Parliament passed in 1854 a third Burnley Improvement Act. This Act retained

the Police Circle, the three wards and the sixty Commissioners but the qualification for a Commissioner was reduced from £20 to £15 rateable value: the Act also empowered the Commissioners to acquire and extend the gasworks, construct a cemetery, deal with nuisances, and raise the town's debt to £105,000.

Voters showed little enthusiasm at the election of the sixty Commissioners, many of whom were apathetic. Fortunately there was a strong section that was keenly aware of its responsibilities and in spite of complaints about expense and the infringement of individual rights the work of improvement went steadily forward. The property of the Burnley Gas Company was purchased and extensions were made at Stoneyholme; the reorganisation of the water supply was accelerated; the construction of a cemetery was begun; buildings in St. James's Street were bought and demolished so that the roadway might be widened; roads and streets were sewered and paved; above all, there was a vigorous effort made to improve the health of the town. Some cellar dwellings in Finsleygate were ordered to be closed and others in various parts of the town were ordered to be made fit for habitation, while plans for all new houses and buildings were carefully scrutinised and only accepted if they satisfied the new standards. The new bye-laws insisted that each new house should have its own backyard, privy and ashpit and that each room must conform to regulations for size, lighting, ventilation, etc. The general effect was that in future no more back-to-back property, cellar dwellings and tenement houses could be erected.

Meanwhile the population within the Police Circle had increased from 21,000 in 1850 to 29,000 in 1860 and the number of houses during the same period had increased from 5,000 to 6,000. Owing to the increased number of assessments on houses and factories, the rates which had stood at 2s. in the £ from 1854 to 1858 were actually reduced in 1859 to 1s. 6d., in spite of the fact that the town's debt had risen from £44,000 in 1854 to nearly £98,000 in 1859. However, there was still much to be done, parks and recreation grounds were necessary, the police force was inadequate, a sewerage scheme did not exist, and a petition, twenty yards in length, demanded public baths. The Commissioners who had initiated so many reforms since 1846, felt that Burnley had made such progress that it ought to seek the higher dignity of "Corporate Town" with Mayor and Council, under whose guidance larger and more ambitious projects might be entertained. The wish to see Burnley enter upon a new era of local government was all the stronger because it was practically certain that the town would soon have its own Member of Parliament.

The first public meeting to consider the proposal for "Incorporation" was held in the Mechanics' on July 25th, 1859, under the chairmanship of Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth, but in spite of the appeal of Mr. Sutcliffe, the law clerk to the Commissioners, who had summoned the meeting, there was little popular support for the cause. During the following months, however, the advantages of incorporation were more fully explained and it was at last realised that the greater powers which a Town Council would hold would deal more effectively with the pressing emergencies of a town that had by no means reached the limit of expansion.

Towards the end of 1860 a formal petition, signed by nearly 3,000 ratepayers, was forwarded to the Queen, describing Burnley as "a town of considerable trade and manufacture and very populous" and worthy to rank as a corporate town. On April 10th, 1861, Captain Donelly, a Commissioner appointed by the Privy Council, came to the Mechanics' to hear evidence concerning the petition. Mr. Sutcliffe emphasised the antiquity of the town, its manufactures, modern communications, etc., and illustrated the progress that had been made since 1841 by quoting statistics of the local cotton trade:—1841, 2,600 looms, 157,000 spindles, and steam engines developing a total of 650 horse-power; 1861, 10,000 looms, 680,000 spindles and 14,436 horse-power. On October 24th, 1861, the Charter of Incorporation was granted. Under its clauses there were to be a Mayor, eight Aldermen and twenty-four councillors, six each for the four wards of St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. James's and Trinity. The elected Council held its first meeting in January, 1862, when Mr. John Moore, of Palace House, was made Mayor and Messrs. John Moore (the Mayor), Henry Moore (son of the Mayor), T. T. Wilkinson, John Barnes, Anthony Buck, James Folds, William Coultate and George Slater were made Aldermen. Mr. Robert Handsley was appointed Town Clerk at a salary of £350 a year. The Council met in a room over the old fire station.

THE TOWN COUNCIL—1862-1871.

The Council first considered measures that would enhance the new dignity of the town. The coat-of-arms, previously adopted by the Commissioners, was taken over by the new governing body which insisted on some slight alterations being made in the design and colouring. Chairs for the Mayor and Town Clerk were installed in the Council room which was brightened by a new carpet and table; though the fire engine stood in the room below it was considered wise to pay 10s. 6d. a year as fire insurance on the new furniture. The Mayor and

Town Clerk wore their official robes for the first time in January, 1865, and in the following June the Mayoral chain and badge were bought for £186. A proposal to buy the right to a "Corporation Pew" in St. Peter's for £50 was not adopted when it was known that it would be illegal to make such a charge on the rates. Several councillors suggested that each member should make a private contribution to such a worthy cause but they failed to get unanimous support.

Far more important were the efforts of the Council to abolish nuisances, a policy which was energetically enforced by the inspector, Christopher Slater. Shopkeepers were prosecuted for obstructing the footpaths with baskets, tubs, ladders, mangles, coal, etc., and for allowing street awnings to hang too low; mill owners were not allowed to have hoists in the streets and all mill chimneys were to be at least ninety feet high; householders were forbidden to hang washing in the street or throw ashes on the pavement and roadway,—regulations that were bitterly resented by those who lived in back-to-back property; householders however were prosecuted for failing to sweep the pavements particularly after a snowstorm, while boys were discouraged from making slides. All lodging houses had to be registered and frequent inspections were made to ensure that no more than two persons occupied one bed and that conditions in the rooms were satisfactory; visits were also paid to cottage property in the lower parts of the town to examine the degree of cleanliness and insist, if necessary, on the use of a municipal whitewash brush, loaned at a cost of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day (26,540 were loaned during 10 years). Back premises received constant attention by the inspector and those tenants who had built pigsties or hencotes in the backyard were ordered to clear them away. Meanwhile the Corporation worked hard to make up arrears in levelling, paving and sewerage streets, and a great deal of work of this nature was done in the Meadows, Parker Lane, the Park, and Finsleygate; the irregular line of buildings in Blucher Street which was only five yards wide at one place was greatly improved when the Corporation compensated a butcher for demolishing his shop which projected far into the main street. The bridge at the Mitre and the Canal Bridge in Colne Road were widened and a new bridge was erected between Bankhouse Street and Calder Vale Road.

The progress of the municipal gas and water undertakings was the subject of many lengthy arguments, inspections, and reports, while the efficiency of the fire engine, that "went beyond the memory of living man" and the training of the brigade were always sure to rouse hostile criticism. Though comparatively little was done to remedy the major defects in

these departments, the Council increased its responsibilities by acquiring the property and rights of the Burnley Market Company at a cost of about £20,000, a price far in excess of an earlier valuation; some 10,000 square yards in Parker Lane, now the Cattle Market, were also purchased for £3,600. Thus, the Council was soon to control a covered market, an open market, a cattle fair ground and an amusement park.

The work of the Corporation had increased so much since 1861 that better accommodation for the officials and their staffs became a matter of urgency. Accordingly when the Public Hall in Elizabeth Street was offered for sale in 1867 the Corporation bought the property for £2,200 and there the municipal offices remained from 1868 until 1888 when the present Town Hall was opened. The Baths which formed part of the Public Hall were also taken over by the Council and carried on as a municipal undertaking. Interesting but less important was the Council's decision to accept the offer of two Crimean guns of which the cost of carriage and installation at the junction of Bank Parade and Colne Road amounted to £32. The site was given by General Scarlett and the Rev. Wm. Thursby.

Dreams and hopes of more amenities and improvements were not all realised during this period. Among the "lost causes" were alterations at the Culvert, a public park at Healey Valley, a clock tower, and a "piece of ordnance" on Healey Heights to be fired by electricity from Liverpool each day at a definite time. The need for public baths had been satisfied to some extent by the baths in the Public Hall, and "Slater's Clock" at the bottom of Sandygate (first set going in August 1863) partially served the purpose of a town clock. More important was a proposal that Burnley should have its own police force, independent of the County magistrates, but owing to the cost and the distress prevailing in the town, the scheme was abandoned for the time being.

Several strong personalities dominated the Town Council during the first ten years of its existence and to their rivalry was added in 1867 the bitterness of political differences. In that year, Burnley received Parliamentary representation and party colours were worn for the first time in a municipal election. Feeling ran so high that the Mayor, Alderman James Folds, who was a Conservative, was neither re-elected to the aldermanic bench nor invited to serve as Mayor for a second year since he would then be the returning officer for the parliamentary election in 1868.

For some time an agitation had been growing for the extension of the boundaries of Burnley. The unnatural limit

of the "Circle" was very inconvenient, especially when applications for gas and water were made from places just outside the boundary, while toll bars, usually situated just outside the Circle, proved detrimental to the trade of the town; moreover, disease and infection in neighbouring districts menaced the health of Burnley so much that in 1867 special precautions had to be taken in Burnley to prevent the spread of cholera from Wood Top, then outside the Circle. A further argument for the extension of the boundaries was based on the cost of the police force which was at that time under the control of the County magistrates. Burnley's annual contribution to the maintenance of the police was approximately £600 and that of Habergham Eaves amounted to £660, a total which, it was said, would enable the two townships, if united, to have its own police force under its own control.

The question of the extension of the boundaries became more urgent in 1867 when it was known that a Parliamentary Borough of Burnley was to be created, returning one Member. It was argued that if Brierfield, Habergham Eaves, Lowerhouse, and Ightenhill would consent to unite with Burnley for the purposes of local government, then they might also form a Parliamentary Borough with the possibility of returning two Members. Padiham was anxious to come into the scheme but Burnley was unwilling to include that township. The wish to incorporate so many townships within the Borough of Burnley was given up when it was learnt that Colonel Charles Towneley, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, Canon Parker of Royle and the Dugdales of Lowerhouse had raised objections.

The whole matter was re-opened in 1869 when proposals were made to include Habergham Eaves, parts of Reedley Hallows, Lowerhouse, Cheapside and Ightenhill. Some Burnley people objected because they believed that the town would have to bear the cost of "modernising" the incorporated townships, while the townships themselves decried the scheme because their highway rate, which usually stood at 6d., might rise to the 1s. 4d.—2s. level of Burnley's rate. The inhabitants of Lowerhouse said that they had their own gas supply from "Dugdale's," did not want water from Burnley, and had no interest in Burnley's new cemetery. Canon Parker threatened that if the Council went on with the scheme to include Royle he would start legal proceedings against them for polluting the river and so destroying the amenities of his home at Royle; such legal action, if successful, would have meant the early adoption of a comprehensive and very expensive sewage disposal programme. Colonel Towneley objected to the inclusion of the Deer Park within the Borough, and the Burnley and

Rochdale Turnpike Trust claimed compensation for the removal of their toll bar at Huffling Lane (within the suggested new boundary) to a point outside the Borough.

The original scheme was therefore much modified and the Act of 1871, which cost £2,830, only increased the area of the Borough by 600 acres, i.e. from 1,131 to 1,731 acres. Within the new boundaries were now included Barden Lane Top, Municipal Hospital (Briercliffe Road), Whittlefield, the district of St. John's, Hargher Clough, a large part of Gannow, the Rabbit Walk and Causeway End. The Turnpike Trust was paid £600 compensation for loss of tolls and £150 for rebuilding the toll house near the junction of the Todmorden and Bacup roads.

1871-1889

Under the Act of 1871 eight wards were to be created. The first suggested names of the new wards were considered to be too ecclesiastical in character but at length it was agreed that they should be known as St. Andrew's, Bankhouse, Trinity, Gannow, Healey, Fulfilledge, St. James' and St. Peter's. Twenty-four councillors and eight aldermen still formed the Council and from them the Mayor was appointed. In 1873 the Mayoral election created some embarrassment for the retiring Mayor, Mr. J. H. Scott, who had to give his casting vote to decide which of two candidates should be his successor. As both were his friends, the Mayor decided that the easiest way out of the difficulty was to draw one of the two names out of a hat, a proceeding which roused a great deal of comment in the national newspapers.

Generally speaking, this period of local government was one of the most progressive that Burnley had yet experienced and, though there was a great deal of "muddle" in carrying out some of the larger projects with a consequent increase of cost, the mistakes that were made were usually due to a desire to keep down the rates by adopting the cheapest methods. In addition to the necessary widening of highways and bridges, street paving and a limited amount of slum clearance, the Corporation initiated a "cleaner food" campaign by passing bye-laws to control bakeries and compel butchers to use new municipal abattoirs for the slaughter of animals. The first of the recreation grounds was also opened. The extension of the Stoneyholme Gasworks, the enlargement of the Swinden Reservoir and the construction of Cant Clough Reservoir will be described in the next chapter.

Undoubtedly the greatest improvement carried out during the period was the adoption and completion of a planned sewerage scheme. For many years, outeries had been made against the antiquated methods of the disposal of sewage which were not only a serious menace to the health of the town but a constant source of annoyance to people whenever they approached a river or walked in the fields. The situation was brought to a head when the owners of Royle, whose amenities were ruined by the nauseous smells from the Calder, obtained an injunction restraining the Corporation from polluting the rivers. On the instructions of the Council, Mr. Colbran, the Borough Surveyor, drew up plans for the complete sewerage of the town, but when Mr. Emmett, the Borough Water Manager, presented an alternative scheme, a long delay ensued while the Council asked advice from a firm of consultant engineers. In August, 1872, the plans of Mr. Colbran were accepted and at very great expense the intercepting main sewers and street sewers were laid and house drains connected. However, no decision had yet been reached by the Council as to where the disposal works should be situated nor how the waste should be treated. At one time it was hoped that Mr. Townley Parker would allow the works to be built on a site near Royle, known as the "Fishpond." Not unnaturally he refused his permission but offered to sell five acres at the Duckpits at a price to be fixed by arbitration. By the end of December, 1875, the work of building the sewer to the Duckpits was well advanced and the Council had to decide on the method of disposal. The application of scientific knowledge to such a problem was then in its infancy and representatives of the Borough Council visited several towns to examine various methods employed in treating the waste. At last in 1876 a twelve years' lease was signed with General Scott's Sewage Company which undertook to erect buildings where the "solid matter was treated by calcination and converted into Portland Cement"; the Company claimed that only pure water would be turned into the river. A large block of "Portland Cement" was exhibited for many years in Gunsmith Lane as an advertisement of the work done at the new Sewage Works. Unfortunately, Scott's Company was unable to deal with all the sewage and most of it was allowed to pass direct into the river. Complaints from riparian landlords were soon raised and, for a time, some improvements were made, but in 1886 the Corporation had to take action and cancel the lease. The Company's buildings were bought for £1,055. The next method that was adopted was to dry the sludge from the settling tanks over large fires; this was unsuccessful, expensive, and disturbing to people living in the vicinity. Treatment with lime and pressure and a system of filtration were then introduced and land at Wood End had to

be bought for the extensions. (Some years later the present system of using bacteria to supplement the existing method was introduced). In 1895 the Altham Sewage Works were completed to accommodate the Gannow and Lowerhouse districts. Surface drains to carry away storm-water were laid down in 1895 at a cost of £30,000 but efforts to check flooding in Fulledge and other low-lying parts of the town proved unavailing.

The Town Council of 1872 was almost entirely responsible for the agitation which led to the establishment of the Burnley Court of Magistrates. At the beginning of the 19th century, County magistrates had dispensed justice in a room in St. James' Row but in 1832 they moved the Court to the Bull Inn which had recently been rebuilt. Here they remained until 1851 when the County authorities took over the Keighley Green Wesleyan Chapel as a court-house and prison for the Higher Division of Blackburnshire in which Burnley was situated. Only one or two of the magistrates lived in Burnley and for some time it had been felt that such a position was unsatisfactory; moreover, the Mayor, ex-officio chief magistrate of Burnley, did not preside over the Court since he was not the senior justice. As a result of the spirited action of the Town Council, an agreement was made in 1870 that there should be two courts on Mondays, one for County cases at 11 a.m. presided over by the senior magistrate, the other at 2 p.m. for Borough cases at which the Mayor would preside over the Bench of County justices. Such an arrangement was inconvenient to solicitors and court officers and it was finally decided that the Mayor's court should be held immediately the County court finished. Satisfaction was far from complete and in 1872 application was made to the Privy Council for the creation of a Borough Bench of Magistrates. The request was granted and, at the suggestion of the Privy Council, the General Purposes Committee drew up a list of 15 names for magisterial honour, out of which seven were to be appointed. Criticism was levelled against the lists on the grounds that political bias had been shown so that eventually a very different list was presented from which the selection of the first Borough magistrates was made.

Since no arrangements had been made for the holding of a Borough court, the new magistrates reluctantly had to ask the County for the use of the Keighley Green court-room. Great difficulty was experienced in arranging and holding two separate courts, particularly on Mondays, and at last the Burnley magistrates adopted the practice of holding a court on days when there was no County Court. The inevitable happened in 1880 when the County magistrates arranged a meeting at the court-house at a time and day that had been assigned to the

Burnley court with the result that the Mayor and his brother justices had to adjourn their court to the Council Chamber. Such a position for the Borough magistrates was undignified and schemes for a Town Hall and Court House were revived. In 1888, the magistrates moved to their present buildings and in the same year the much discussed plan for a Borough Police Force was put into effect. In 1893 the right to hold a Court of Quarter Sessions was granted and Mr. H. G. Shee, Q.C. was appointed the first Recorder of Burnley.

The opening of the Town Hall in 1888 was the climax to the work of local government during this period 1871-1889. For nearly forty years the building of a town hall had been discussed and at one time had reached the stage of drawing plans, but neither the Commissioners nor the Councillors were prepared to increase the rates for the purpose. The purchase of the Public Hall and its conversion into municipal offices and Council room in 1868 solved the difficulty of accommodation for a time, but the later expansion of Corporation undertakings and the desire for a building worthy of Burnley increased the determination to build. By 1880 the matter had become urgent since the creation of a Borough Police Force was held up by lack of accommodation, the Borough Bench of Magistrates needed a Court-room, and new baths were required to replace those which had been closed in Elizabeth Street.

In 1881, the Markets Committee, finding a difficulty in making a profit from the over-capitalised Market Hall, presented plans for converting that building into a Town Hall complete with Council chamber, assembly hall, offices, etc. at a cost of £15,000 with a further outlay of £7,000 for a new covered market. That scheme was rejected but in 1883 the Corporation finally decided to erect a Town Hall in Manchester Road and on October 25th 1885 Alderman John Baron laid the foundation stone. The cost was estimated at £16,600 for the Town Hall, £8,900 for the Police Court, and £4,500 for the Baths but the actual cost (including furnishings) exceeded £53,000. The building was formally opened with great jubilation on Oct. 27th 1888 by the Mayor, Alderman G. Sutcliffe. Processions were held, speeches were made, and an electric light was installed at the top of the tower. The Central Baths had already been declared open in 1887.

The Corporation could now pride itself on the remarkable achievements of the past eighteen years. The gasworks had been extended, the largest of all the town's reservoirs had been constructed and another one had been enlarged, a complete sewage system had been finished, a Police Force had been created, a Borough Bench instituted, and a Town Hall had been

erected that was a source of great admiration. Such advantages could not be won without financial burdens on the ratepayers so that though the rateable value of property increased from £100,900 in 1871 to £270,225 in 1889 the rates rose from 1s. 9d. to 2s. 11d. during the same period and in nine separate years stood well above the higher figure.

1889-1901.

Burnley attained the dignity of "County Borough" in 1889, an honour which was conferred on a limited number of boroughs under the County Councils Act of 1888. When the Government was framing that Act, it intended to raise to the new rank only those boroughs with a minimum population of 100,000, but, after the details had become known, Mr. Southern, Town Clerk of Burnley, initiated a conference in London of all boroughs with a minimum population of 50,000. Mr. Southern and other representatives of the meeting interviewed those responsible for framing the Bill and persuaded them to make a 50,000 population the qualification for the proposed honour. As a County Borough, Burnley was able to control highways and highway bridges within the Borough, issue all manner of licenses, give scholarships and supervise technical education, administer the Contagious Diseases Act, Adulteration of Foods Act, etc.; as compensation for its added responsibilities, it received the revenue from licenses and Government grants for roads, etc. Since 1889 the powers of a County Borough have increased considerably so that the control of all education, pauperism and health fell in time within its scope.

Equally important was the Burnley Corporation (Extension) Act, passed on July 5th 1889 which increased the area of the Borough from 1,731 acres to 4,015 acres, or within 700 acres of its present limits. The new areas included Lowerhouse, Gannow, and parts of the following districts—Reedley Hallows, Ightenhill, Briercliffe Road and Brunshaw. It was originally hoped to include Gawthorpe, Towneley, and a greater part of Habergham Eaves, and so bring the total area to well over 5,000 acres but the opposition compelled the Corporation to modify its project.

Under the same Act, the Borough was divided into twelve wards:—St. Andrew's, Daneshouse, Stoneyholme, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, Fulledege, Burnley Wood, Healey, Trinity, Whittlefield, Gannow, and Lowerhouse. The number of the Council was raised to 48—12 Aldermen and 36 Councillors. The cost of the Act was nearly £4,000.

The outburst of municipal activity that had characterised the last eighteen years was followed by a period of comparative calm. The most important improvements were the demolition of property situated between Cannon Street and St. James's Street and the planning of the "Centre," the installation of the Corporation Electricity system, the acquisition of the property of the Burnley Steam Tramways Company preparatory to the construction of the Corporation Electric Tramway system, and the alterations to the Culvert; for the rest, the policy of the Town Council was concerned mainly with the extension of existing services and the continuation of the programme of development already initiated, so that more parks and recreation grounds were opened, the gasworks were further enlarged and Cant Clough Reservoir was completed.

Municipal elections, which had generally been fought since 1867 on political lines between Tories and Liberals became more exciting with the advent of organised Labour and Socialist groups—the Trades Council 1883, the Social Democratic Federation 1891, the Independent Labour Party 1891, and the Labour Electoral Association 1893. The Trades Council, formed of representatives of many Burnley Trade Unions and carrying out a common "labour" policy, would not, at first, officially support any political party, but urged from 1887 onwards the establishment of a Burnley Free Library, and from 1892 the abolition of the smoke nuisance, the adoption of the Food and Drugs Act, and the employment of local men by municipal contractors and their payment at Trade Union rates: it also supported the national movement for the payment of M.P.'s and the limitation to the number of destitute immigrants into the Country. The leaders of the early Trade Unions and Trades Council, such as Mr. David Holmes, were politically associated with the Radicals, then known as the Gladstonean Liberals and had little sympathy with the aims of the more militant Socialist parties, the S.D.F. and the I.L.P. In 1892 the first Socialist candidates, Mr. J. Roberts and Mr. T. Etherington (Secretary of the Trades Council) were defeated but at the elections in the next year the return of Mr. Tempest for Burnley Wood and of Mr. Sparling at a bye-election marked the first Socialist triumphs at the polls. In municipal affairs, the early Socialists urged the Corporation to establish a Works Department which should carry out all municipal development schemes and they also advocated the institution of municipal hostels. The division and hostility between political parties within the ranks of Trade Unionists not only restricted the influence of Socialist groups in the town affairs but it also weakened the power of the Radical party to which many leading Trade Union leaders gave allegiance. The result was that the Socialists had few successes at the polls for several years

while the Liberal majority in the Council which had been predominant since 1867 was challenged by many Conservative successes after 1893. While all these political influences were swaying the Council, the "Ratepayers' Association" was revived after being dormant for ten years. At its first meeting in 1892 in Bivell Street Mission Room, an attack was made on salary increases, the building of a "Palace Infirmary" for paupers, and a so-called "grabbing of land" by a prominent Alderman.

1900 TO THE PRESENT.

Local Government has become so all-embracing during the last fifty years that the Minutes of the Corporation Committees and Sub-Committees form almost a complete contemporary history of the town, for they not only indicate the development of the town's main features and the progress made in social services and amenities, but also the changing habits and the physical and cultural needs of the people. To meet all requirements and help in forming a progressive balanced community, the Council has extended its influence in every direction so that there are now few activities in which it does not play either a direct or indirect part.

The only change in the Borough boundaries took place in 1925 when some 700 acres in Ightenhill and Habergham Eaves were added. Hopes had been entertained that a much larger area might have been included but local opposition prevented the realisation of the complete project.

In what may be regarded as the essential services, the growth of population and the increased demands of households, trades and businesses, necessitated the erection of Oswald Street Gas Works, the extension of the Electricity Works, the construction of Hurstwood Reservoir, and the re-organisation and extension of the Sewage Works at the Duckpits, Wood End and Altham. The Electric Tramway system was opened in 1902 and was finally replaced in 1935 by the present Bus service. To overcome the difficulties created by the phenomenal rise in motor traffic, arterial roads have been constructed and old roads and highways have been widened; the Culvert in Yorkshire Street has been replaced by a well constructed Aqueduct, bridges in Church Street and at the Mitre have been widened and the re-surfacing of roads with asphalt and tarmac has eliminated the discomfort arising from the use of granite sets. Drainage problems in the lower parts of the

town have always proved difficult and expensive; the river-beds have been deepened, tunnels have been built to bypass river bends, and, in more recent years, a larger tunnel has been constructed to take some of the water from the Calder into the Brun.

The responsibilities of the Corporation were enormously increased by the Education Act of 1901 which transferred the powers of the School Board to the Borough Council. Tentative steps to ensure the health of school children had already been made in Burnley before 1900 but no-one then visualised the Government's later regulations urging the provision of meals for necessitous children (afterwards extended to all children), medical supervision, the establishment of nursery schools, and the formation of special committees to deal with juvenile unemployment, employment of school children, etc. These and other regulations have given a new and wider meaning to "Education." During the last fifty years the whole system of education has been constantly under review and the last and recent re-organisation has provided for an education that is suitable for the mental and physical development of children of all ages from primary school to the Municipal College. Moreover, the latest scholarship scheme has made it possible for every Burnley child of adequate ability to continue his studies at a College or University.

A new duty was imposed on the Borough Council by Acts of Parliament and Government Orders which directed Local Authorities to build working class houses to be let at rents which might involve a loss to be met out of the rates. As early as 1909 the Council erected houses on the Small Holdings, and these were followed in 1913 by 24 houses in Mansergh Street and Killington Street and in 1919 by 378 houses on the Rosehill and Palace House Estates. In 1930 the Council began to clear away the slum areas and the building of new property to accommodate the displaced tenants went on with great activity until the outbreak of war in 1939 stopped all house-building projects. At the end of the war in 1945, high prices of material and a desperate shortage of working class houses compelled the Council to erect temporary and semi-permanent houses as well as dwellings of the traditional type. Statistics of houses built up to September 1950 show that 2,364 were erected during 1919-39 and 488 since 1945. Of the latter, 348 are permanent, 10 bungalows, 76 permanent prefabricated, and 54 temporary aluminium; nearly 300 more houses are projected or in course of erection. The largest Corporation housing estates are Stoops 540, Hargher Clough 528, Rosehill 460, Plaintree 350, Woodbine 236, Palace House 210, Eastern Avenue 162, and Casterton 156.

A new aspect on the work of the Borough Council was seen during the trade depression that followed the short-lived cotton boom of 1919-24. On previous occasions when poverty and unemployment had been prevalent, the Council usually initiated temporary relief schemes and funds on a voluntary basis but the threat to the town's major industry in 1924 convinced the Council that measures should be taken to attract other industries. Accordingly a large up-to-date factory was built and several derelict buildings were reconstructed at the town's expense and then offered on attractive terms to manufacturers.

The first Burnley Free Library was started in Trafalgar Street in 1914 and since then Branch Libraries and Distributing Centres have been opened in various parts of the town. The opening of the Central Library in 1930 was most important for it quickly became the centre for many cultural activities. In fact, within the last thirty years the Borough Council has shown a most progressive spirit in its desire to promote "a general culture"; numerous examples might be quoted, including the Towneley Museum and Art Gallery, the Municipal Symphony Orchestra and Choir, the Music and Gramophone Libraries, the Municipal Concerts, the Public Lectures in the Library, and the support given to the Arts Association. In their enjoyment of many of their educational and cultural opportunities, Burnley people are indebted to the great generosity of Mr. Edward Stocks Massey who bequeathed over £100,000 for such purposes.

In the history of the development of local government in Burnley, the general tendency to "municipalise" essential services must not be overlooked. Already before 1900 the principle had been established that the town must own its own transport, markets, and supplies of water, gas, and electricity; after 1900 a similar principle was applied to the establishment of the existing "Works Department" and the Corporation Printing Department, which has now been abandoned. A Municipal Canteen was started in July 1917 but was closed in the following month because it proved unpopular; other canteens and restaurants were opened by the Government during 1939-45 and some of them were taken over by the Council.

The work of local government has therefore increased not only by reason of the town's growth in size and population but also because its powers and functions have been extended to include practically all aspects of communal life. Within recent years certain powers (e.g. over gas and electricity) have been taken over by the State and others (e.g.

transport) have been shared with other bodies but the Council's duties remain as onerous and important as ever. At the present time, 1950, in addition to the meetings of the full Council and General Purposes Committee, there are 18 Committees, 15 Sub-Committees of the General Purposes Committee, 11 Sub-Committees of the Education Committee and 37 Committees of "outside bodies" on which the Council is represented. The expansion of Corporation services and non-profit making departments has necessarily increased the financial burden on the town. At present, in 1950, the total debt is nearly £3,300,000.

CHAPTER V.

Municipal Undertakings.**WATER.**

The first Burnley Waterworks were built in 1819 by a private Company which was formed to convey the water of Calf Hey Well to a reservoir at Heasandford and thence in 6" pipes to the town; a small compensation reservoir was built at Swinden to meet the claims of those millowners whose supplies of water from the Brun might be reduced by the new undertaking. In 1846 the Burnley Improvement Commissioners acquired the whole property of the Company for £11,500 and during the next eight years expended a further £26,000 on development schemes. Heckenhurst Reservoir was constructed in 1850 to hold 17 million gallons and was supplied from Sweet Well, Thurstwell Spring, Swinden Brook, Holden Clough and Bottin Clough; new 12" mains brought the water from Heckenhurst to the town. By 1864 the gathering grounds at Swinden had been increased to 1,040 acres but even then the storage capacity was only a quarter of what was necessary to supply the 5,556 households and mill consumers. During the dry summers of 1858, 1859 and 1861 the reservoirs were almost empty and as the town was still growing, the need for further extensions became urgent.

The Town Council therefore decided to raise the embankment of the old Swinden Reservoir No. 1 in order to increase its capacity from 22 to 150 million gallons, build No. 2 Reservoir at Swinden to hold 24 million gallons, and another one at Lea Green to hold 18 million gallons; it was then hoped that a 28 days' supply might be stored. During the construction of the new extensions, Mr. Emmett, the water engineer, was severely criticised for under-estimating the cost and for making serious mistakes in his survey. A Government surveyor, who was called in to give advice, reported that the new Swinden Reservoir would not hold as much water as was estimated, that Heckenhurst lost a quarter of its water through leakages, and that the only solution to Burnley's difficulties was to build a third reservoir at Swinden to hold 100 million gallons. In spite of the adverse report, the Council went on with its plans, and when the work was well on its way to completion asked for another expert examination. The new report created fresh alarm since it was affirmed that the Lea Green Reservoir would be a complete failure on account of

leakages through the beds of sand and gravel, that the old Swinden Reservoir needed a tunnel to take the overflow and that the new Swinden Reservoir was likely to slide into the valley. The Town authorities however had to carry on with their schemes because the demand was so urgent that no time could be lost in formulating new plans; actually, in 1868 the supply failed completely and people had to rely on the rivers, a stream in Towneley Park, a well in the yard of the Gasworks, and Pickup Delph; it was thought that water from the coalmines at Rowley and an abandoned shaft at Cop Row might have to be used. When Swinden No. 2 was finally completed in 1870 and the extensions to Swinden No. 1 in 1876, the total cost of the water undertaking had risen to £93,000. The new ventures however were successful, contrary to the pessimistic reports of the experts.

The extensions of the Borough boundaries in 1871 and an increase of 18,000 in population between 1871 and 1881 increased the difficulties of the Water Committee for it was evident that a new 18" main would have to be laid from Swinden to supply the Gannow district and that a new reservoir, larger than ever, would have to be constructed to meet the requirements of a town that had by no means reached the limit of expansion. Steps were taken to meet the new demands and in 1879 a Government Commission gave the Corporation permission to borrow £110,000 to extend the water supply. Excavations were then begun on a reservoir at Thursden and a pipe-line was laid at great expense from Thursden to Swinden. There was something of a panic when a Government Inspector declared that the whole scheme was impracticable and thus forced the Council "to cut its losses" and abandon the whole project; a further enquiry revealed that Swinden No. 1 had a holding capacity of only 118 million gallons and not 150 as was supposed and that the gathering grounds covered only 680 acres and not 1,050 acres.

However, an increased water supply was very essential and suggestions were discussed to build reservoirs at Robin Hood (near Boulsworth), Thursden, Stephen Hey and Holden Clough. Eventually the Council resolved on the Robin Hood and Thursden sites but the public meeting, called to sanction the promotion of the necessary Parliamentary legislation, was so hostile to the scheme that action was postponed. At last, an entirely new site at Cant Clough was agreed upon and the Parliamentary Bill was passed in 1883. Work was begun in 1885, but the whole undertaking was haunted by misfortune. An army of workmen, housed in wooden huts on the site and far from any town or large village, suffered considerably during the inclement weather and often grew

discontented. Quarrels broke out between the engineers and the contractors either because plans were constantly changed or work proceeded too slowly, but the greatest dismay arose when it was known that the puddle trench would have to be taken to a far greater depth than the 85 feet as was at first thought necessary. Actually, this "deepest puddle trench in the World" varied from 130 to 190 feet in depth and cost nearly £60,000. Contractors had agreed to complete the work in three years but it was under construction for nearly eight years 1885-92 while the cost rose from the original estimate of £60,000 to a final £150,000.

After 1900 it was seen with some misgivings that the town would have to embark on the construction of another and larger reservoir to meet the growing requirements of thriving industries and expanding population. Accordingly in 1908 the contract for the building of Hurstwood Reservoir was signed and work was begun in 1910. Delay was occasioned by engineering difficulties and the outbreak of war, so that it was not until 1925 that the work was finally completed.

The Corporation now owns six reservoirs:— No. 1 Swinden 116 million gallons, No. 2 Swinden 34 million, Lea Green 22 million, Heckenhurst 20 million, Cant Clough 250 million, and Hurstwood 302 million, thus making a total of 744 million gallons, which is equivalent to 175 days' supply. The catchment area covers 3,500 acres of which 3,000 are owned by the Corporation. Mechanical filters for the water from Cant Clough and Hurstwood and a Chloramine plant for Swinden water purify the supply before it is conveyed direct to the higher parts of the town or to Heckenhurst which serves the lower lying areas. The consumption is about 4 million gallons a day or approximately 24 gallons per head of the population for domestic purposes and 9 for trade purposes. These figures form a striking contrast with those of 1846 when the consumption was not more than 540,000.

GAS.

Gas was first made in Burnley in 1818 at a small plant in Gas Street and was used to illuminate a factory in Brown Street. The Burnley Gas Company was formed in 1823 to take over and expand the existing works and three years later had begun to supply factories, neighbouring cottages, and even a few street gas-lamps. In 1854 the Gas Company sold its property to the Improvement Commissioners for approximately £30,000. At that time, the main works were situated at Lane Bridge where there were four gasometers, each holding 200,000

cubic feet of gas; the works at Stoneyholme were also in course of erection and here it was proposed to build four gasometers, each to hold 400,000 cubic feet. Private firms, such as Dugdale's, Marsland's, and Stuttard's also made gas to illuminate their factories and cottages. The Commissioners, as well as the earlier Gas Committees of the Borough Council, were always anxious that the gas undertaking should show a profit which might eventually go to the relief of the rates. For that reason, proposals, which were made on several occasions, to supply gas to Accrington Road and Fulledge were rejected because "it would not be profitable." Similarly, the Daneshouse area did not get gas until 1865 when several new mills and many houses had been built there. By 1865 4,100 houses were supplied with gas but 2,400 houses still relied on candles and oil lamps.

After 1871 a much more vigorous policy was pursued. Larger mains were laid down and in 1876 mechanical stoking was introduced at Lane Bridge Works; a three tier telescopic gas holder, the second to be built in England, was erected in 1881 at Stoneyholme; gas exhibitions were regularly held in St. James' Hall and the price of gas was reduced from 3s. to 2s. 6d., and in one year to 2s. 2d. per 1,000 cubic feet, thus making gas in Burnley cheaper than in any other town except Leeds. So many improvements were made to the plant that by 1883 the gas works were capable of producing 2 million cubic feet daily or five times the amount produced in 1855. In 1887 the fourth gasometer was erected at Stoneyholme and brought the storage capacity to 2 million cubic feet. Unfortunately the Stoneyholme Works had been erected on a sandy subsoil which was unable to bear the weight of the new constructions so that much expense was incurred in strengthening and partially rebuilding the retaining wall and remaking with concrete the foundations of the main structures.

As the demand for gas still increased, more extensions and re-organisations had to be made. In 1890 a new plant-house was erected and "slanting retorts" were installed so that the daily output rose to $2\frac{1}{2}$ million cubic feet; a gasometer to hold one million cubic feet was also built. Even with these additions, the gasworks soon proved unable to satisfy the demand which tended to grow as gas-ovens and gas-fires were more generally adopted and the number of street gas-lamps was increased. By 1920 the demand had risen to nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ million cubic feet per day, but by that date the buildings were dilapidated, the plant was out-of-date, and the gasometers were unsafe to use. It was therefore decided in 1922 to build a larger and more modern plant and a gasholder of 3 million cubic feet capacity on a new site in Oswald Street; work was begun in 1925 and two years later gas was being produced at

the new site. The Lane Bridge Works were closed in 1930 and arrangements were made for production to be supplemented by $1\frac{1}{2}$ million cubic feet per day of coke-oven gas from Altham which was to be purified at the Oswald Street Works. A new spiral gasometer of one million cubic feet capacity was erected in 1938 to replace one of the same capacity that had become unsafe. At present, the daily production at Oswald Street amounts to three million cubic feet, to which must be added the purification of two million cubic feet from Altham. It is hoped to extend the supply still further in the near future.

Progress in street lighting was constant and the Gas Committee steadily increased the number of lamps and has adopted inventions to improve the illumination. In 1861 lamps were situated at intervals of 70 yards along the main roads and it was not until 1871 that proposals were accepted to light side streets and double the number of lamps in the main roads; in 1913 gas lamps were placed in back streets. Statistics show that in 1884 there were 1,024 lamps in the 70 miles of Borough streets and that in 1946 there were 3,907 lamps for the 125 miles of streets. The earlier gas lamps had a single flat jet giving a light equal to 13 candle power but in 1879 one or two main lamps were fitted with "Bray's Patent Burner." Incandescent mantles were fitted to all lamps in 1883. Clock controllers were fixed in 1924 and thus the old method of hand lighting was superseded. Within the last few years, more modern methods of street lighting have been adopted.

Up to 1945 the capital expenditure on the Gas Undertaking amounted to £863,085 and the surplus revenue from 1864 to 1946 amounted to £480,000, most of which was used for the relief of rates. The Burnley Gas Undertaking is now under the control of the Ministry of Fuel and Power.

ELECTRICITY.

Electric lighting in Burnley on a commercial basis was first envisaged in 1889 by a firm from a neighbouring town which asked shopkeepers, millowners and others to support its plans to erect a generating station in Burnley, lay cables, and supply current. The Borough Council, however, having experienced the difficulties of acquiring gas, water and market rights from private companies, resolved that the essential service of an electric supply should from the start be a municipal undertaking. Accordingly, an application for the necessary powers was made to the Government and under the Burnley Electric Lighting Order of 1890 the monopoly of manufacturing and selling electricity in Burnley was given to the Borough Council.

The site of Pillingfield Mill was bought and tenders for the necessary plant were obtained. Mains were laid, the generating station completed, and on August 22nd 1893 the public supply was inaugurated. The station, as first equipped, was capable of generating sufficient power to light 6,300 lamps, each of eight candle-power. Large extensions were made as the demand for electricity grew and in 1903 the supply for the new tramway system led to further expansion. A sum of £120,000 was further allocated in 1920 for the erection of new plant and mains. In December 1933 the Corporation Electricity Undertaking was made subject to the policy of the Central Electricity Board which controlled the "Grid" system. Since that time, supplies of electricity have been imported from the Board to supplement the output from the Burnley generating station which is no longer adequate in capacity to deal with the whole of the demand without assistance from the National Grid. In 1944 the coal situation resulted in the Burnley Works being treated as a main supply station. As in the case of gas, the whole of Burnley's electricity supply system has been nationalised.

THE MARKETS.

In 1850 Burnley had three markets—the Victoria Market on the site of "Woolworth's," the General Market at the bottom of Manchester Road, and the Covered and Open Air Markets in the present Market Square. The Victoria Market for fruit and vegetables was a private venture and disappeared in 1873 when the Corporation acquired the site for improvement purposes. The General Market was the relic of the ancient Market which had stood opposite St. Peter's Church until about 1800; the actual date of the transference of the Market is uncertain but the alterations to the churchyard 1807-9 possibly had much to do with its removal to St. James's Street. At Fair-time the stalls extended as far as the Hall Inn and booths were erected on any available open space. The Covered and Open Air Markets in Market Place were the property of the Burnley Market Company which had been formed in 1829; here were the principal meat, fish, and corn markets.

In 1863 the Corporation, which had no control over the Markets, took steps to acquire the property of the Burnley Market Company but abandoned the project because the Company, which had a capital of only £2,400, fixed the selling price at £10,000 with a further £400 as compensation to the tenant of the Market Tavern. The Corporation then considered the

establishment of a Corporation Market and discussed various sites including Salem Chapel and the land behind it for £6,000, 10,000 square yards in Parker Lane for £4,000, and land behind Bethel Chapel. The Parker Lane land with Pillingfield Mill and certain property in Grimshaw Street was bought in 1865. Meanwhile the Company, which had been reconstructed, reduced its selling price to £8,000 but the Council refused to purchase even at the smaller figure. The Company then proposed to obtain Parliamentary powers to buy and demolish slum property in the Market Place in order to extend their Market in the hope that the Corporation would take over a large number of the shares which would be issued. The Council would not agree to the scheme but agreed to the suggestion that the purchase price should be settled by arbitration. The result was that the Council paid £16,000 to the Company, £970 for the services of the arbitrator, and incurred further expenses in Parliamentary legislation that brought the total initial costs to approximately £20,000.

Soon afterwards, the old Market Hall was demolished and Poke Street, Fountain Street, Fountain Court and Rodney Street were demolished to make a site for the new Market Hall. The foundation stone was laid with masonic ceremony by the Mayor, Mr. Alderman Robinson, and the Hall was eventually opened on January 1st 1870 by the Mayor, Mr. Alderman John Barnes. The architect was Mr. Green of Portsmouth near Todmorden. When the Council's enterprize was completed, the cost of the Market Hall, Market Square, and Cattle Market amounted to nearly £68,000.

The Burnley Market Act of 1865 gave the Corporation full control over all markets and hawkers. The Parker Lane market, soon to be known as the Cattle Market, was reserved for the sale of cattle, horses, pigs, hides, corn, hay and straw, and for amusement booths: the Market Hall (when erected) and the Market Square were reserved for the sale of meat, fish, poultry, butter, eggs and general produce; no hawkers were allowed except they held a six months' license. To control the Markets, an Inspector, Mr. W. Waddington, was appointed and he was instrumental in bringing about the erection of fourteen covered pens in the Cattle Market where as many as 500 pigs were exhibited for sale each week. In 1879 when the Municipal Abattoirs were erected in Royle Road, the pig market was transferred to Ashfield Road. At Fair-time, other arrangements had to be made. The horse fair was at first held in Trafalgar Street and part of Manchester Road but in 1881 it was taken to the bottom of Brunshaw; the Cattle Market was reserved for the sale of other animals and those stalls and

amusement booths which could not find room among the cattle pens overflowed into Red Lion Street, St. Peter Street, Boot Street, Firth Street and Parker Lane. The horse and cattle fairs were of some importance and in 1888 nearly 800 horses and 700 cattle were on sale.

As the capital outlay on the Markets was so heavy, interest charges and other necessary expenses were much higher than the revenue from tolls so that in the first two years 1870-71 there was a total loss of over £2,700. The Markets were then leased to Mr. John Greenwood of Manchester but still losses were sustained and eventually in 1882 the Corporation once more took over control. Up to that time the total deficit amounted to approximately £20,000 but since 1884 good profits have been made, reaching in some years as much as £3,000 and in two years, 1927 and 1928, over £6,000.

The fixing of Market day and Fair time gave rise to much discussion. The Charter of 1294 fixed Tuesday as the Market-day but in the 19th century the Market in St. James's Street was held on Mondays and that controlled by the Market Company on Saturdays. The Corporation fixed Thursday and Saturday as Market-days but there was so much opposition to the change that Mondays and Saturdays were once more recognised. Fair-time was originally in 1294 fixed to fall on June 28th but since the alteration of the calendar in 1751 the date for Burnley Fair was changed to July 10th, irrespective of the day of the week. When July 10th happened to fall on a Sunday, confusion often arose as to whether the preceding Saturday or the following Monday should be observed as a holiday but the difficulty was overcome when the Corporation finally decided that the Fair should begin on the second Thursday in July.

In this section dealing with the Markets may be included certain powers which have been given to the Borough Council. In 1861 bakeries were made subject to inspection and in 1865 cattle diseases were made notifiable. In 1878 all slaughterhouses had to be registered and licenses were withheld if they were unsuitable. The Public Abattoirs were opened in 1879 and all slaughtering had to be carried out there: during the first year, 12,000 sheep, 4,000 lambs, 3,250 beasts, 800 calves and 3,250 pigs were killed for Burnley's consumption. The corresponding figures for 1947 were 22,000 sheep and lambs, 6,500 beasts, 2,000 calves and 56 pigs. In March 1901 the Corporation opened the Cold Air and Ice Plant for the benefit of food distributors.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

Several subscription libraries existed in Burnley in the early 19th century, notably those of Akroyd's in Yorkshire Street and Gilbertson's in St. James's Street. These were followed by the Mechanics' Library 1834, the Church Institute Library 1848, and the Co-operative Society's Library about 1862.

The establishment of a Burnley Public Free Library was often discussed after 1861 and many references were made to the subject in public speeches. Little however was done to organise a movement for the cause until 1887 when the Trades' Council, which represented the Trade Unions, passed a resolution expressing a hope that the Borough Council would provide a Municipal Free Library. In the following year the same body of workers' representatives asked for a room to be set aside in the new Town Hall where a Library might be formed, but the demand for suitable accommodation for municipal offices was so great that the request had to be refused. In 1891 definite proposals were again laid before the Borough Council by the Trades' Council which considered that "action should be speeded up" but again there was no result. Deputations from the Trades' Council were sent annually to the Town Council from 1891 to 1898 and in 1897 Mr. Dan Irving pledged the support of the Socialists to the cause of a Free Library. In 1898 a Joint-Committee of 15 representatives of the Town Council and Trades' Council was set up and met each year to discuss the question, but bad trade or the financial commitments of the Borough Council prevented any action being taken to realise their hopes.

In 1913 a building in Trafalgar Street was bequeathed to Burnley by Mr. W. Marshall for the purpose of a Free Library and here on February 28th 1914 the Marshall Library was opened as a Lending Library and Reference Library. No extensions were possible during the First World War but in 1924 the Colne Road Branch Library was opened. This was followed by the erection of the Central Library at a cost of nearly £37,000, to which the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust made a grant of £16,500; the building was opened in July 1930. During the last few years, Branches at Rosegrove and Burnley Wood and four "Distributing Centres" have been established.

The latest statistics show that there are 9,500 borrowers and that the stock consists of 55,000 books in the adult lending section, 10,600 in the Junior Library, and 10,000 in the Reference Library; to these should be added nearly 10,000 copies of music in the Massey Library and nearly 1,500

gramophone records. The total number of books and records borrowed during one year 1949-50 amounted to 706,000; of these 65% were fiction and 18% non-fiction, and 12% were borrowed by juvenile readers. The Reference Library provides excellent facilities for students and is much in advance of similar sections in many other Lancashire Public Libraries.

The Central Library plays a most important role in the life of Burnley, for in addition to its normal function as a Library, it serves as a centre for popular lectures, art exhibitions of painting, photography, printing, embroidery, etc., trade exhibitions, drama, music, and the activities of various local cultural Societies.

THE POLICE.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the old established system of policing the township by parish constables and watchmen was still in force. They were appointed by the Select Vestry but were under the jurisdiction of the County Justices of the Peace who were ultimately responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The constables were tradesmen who performed their police duties for a few hours each week or whenever their services were in urgent demand; they carried staves which they frequently used on persons guilty of offences too trivial for trial at a Magistrates' Court. The night watchmen patrolled a few districts during the night-time. In 1831 there were five or six constables and eight watchmen under the control of William Chaffer, a cooper by trade, and to their care was entrusted the maintenance of law in the township of Burnley, while a separate body was appointed for the township of Habergham Eaves. In 1835, the Burnley Select Vestry, fearing that the County Magistrates would impose on Burnley the new County Constabulary re-organised their own force and appointed John Spencer innkeeper, and Thomas Bland, grocer, as unpaid "Head Constables," with William Chaffer as full time "Deputy Constable" with a salary of £50 a year, and another man as "Assistant-Deputy Constable."

In 1840 the Magistrates insisted on drafting into the town six trained full-time constables, and though there were objections to the cost of the new police system and a great dislike of the principle involved, the old order was finally abandoned. Under the new organisation Burnley was part of the Higher Division of Blackburn which was staffed in 1864 by the superintendent, two inspectors, seven sergeants, and 44 constables. Of these, the superintendent, an inspector, one "charge" policeman at the police office, and 15 other ranks were

generally posted in Burnley though at any time they might be drafted out of the town. Indeed, on one occasion, a disturbance in Burnley went unchecked because there were no policemen available to deal with it. Of the 15 "other ranks," four were on duty during the day with beats of three miles each and the remaining 11 worked during the night-time on beats of 45 minutes covering a distance of two miles; these figures were only approximate for it was proved that one policeman had a beat eight miles long and passed Roberts Row only once every four hours.

During periods of distress or of political agitation, special constables were enrolled under the control of the town authorities. The need for such precautions arose during the Chartist disturbances of 1843 and the Fenian agitation of 1867-8. In the latter case, 626 "specials" were enrolled, of whom nearly 500 were members of the Lancashire Volunteer Regiment. Feeling ran high against the many Irish families living in Burnley when it was reported that they had threatened to blow up the Waterworks and generally make life in Burnley impossible. It is doubtful whether there was any real cause for alarm in Burnley but the enthusiasm of the special constables under Captain Handsley and the Town Clerk was almost wasted when neither the Town Council nor the Army officers could agree as to who should pay for the silk badges "richly wrought," which were to be issued to the defenders of the town.

The earliest Superintendents were Mr. McCabe, Mr. Carswell and Mr. Alexander. Mr. McCabe was well known for his action during the Chartist period. Mr. Carswell introduced cutlass drill for his constables and believed in discipline; on his retirement in 1868, the Borough Council voted him £21 as a mark of esteem but when it was discovered that such a gift out of the rates was illegal they had to content themselves with presenting an illuminated address. The Burnley prison was at first situated in Fleet Street and was removed about 1820 to the corner of Red Lion Street; here, the prisoners were shackled and lay on straw. In 1832 prisoners were accommodated at the Bay Horse and later for a short time at the Royal Oak but the Red Lion Street prison was not given up until 1845 when a police station was built in Curzon Street. In 1851 the Wesleyan Chapel in Keighley Green was taken over as Police Court, Station, and prison. Here there were only four cells until 1880 when ten others were built.

The advantage of a Borough Police Force which figured so prominently at the time of the Incorporation Act in 1861 was not so warmly favoured when the Council did

obtain the power to create and control its own Force. All were agreed that it was undignified for the Borough to continue under a system in which the police of the town were subject to the County Magistrates and liable to be drafted elsewhere at any time, but the great fear was that a Burnley Police Force would be more expensive and that rates would have to be levied to provide a Borough Police Station. In the first debate on the subject in 1862, one Alderman suggested that it would cost 1½d. rate and another estimated the total cost at a 6d. rate; only two members of the Council supported the motion for the creation of a Borough Force. Discussions on the subject were renewed both in the Council and in the town and in 1869 a supporter of the cause showed that Burnley and Habergham Eaves were paying £1,259 a year for the County to police the townships; such a large sum, it was said, would be sufficient to maintain a Force for the two townships if the proposed amalgamation of Burnley and Habergham Eaves could be accomplished. By 1881, the County Police Force in Burnley had been increased and costs had risen to £2,300 a year.

The whole of the problem was brought to a head in 1887 by the action of the County Justices in promoting a Bill in Parliament to make it compulsory for any Borough which created its own Police Force after January 1st 1887 to continue to make contributions to the County police funds. The Burnley authorities strongly resisted the proposal and the Bill was eventually thrown out by a Committee of the House of Lords, but, during the debates, the County authorities informed the Burnley Town Clerk that the County police would be withdrawn from Burnley unless the Council agreed to make payments for a number of years. The Council therefore determined to establish at once its own Police Force of a chief constable, three inspectors, six sergeants and 60 constables and appointed Mr. J. Harrop of Shrewsbury as the first Burnley Chief Constable. He was given an office in Yorke Street and in June 1887 the Borough Police replaced the County Constabulary. In the following year, the police headquarters were transferred to their present position in the Town Hall. The cost of the police during the first year was a little over £6,000 and rose to £7,112 (salaries £5,933) in 1890 when the numbers had been increased to 80. In 1945 the strength was 124 and the cost approximately £60,000.

THE FIRE BRIGADE.

It is uncertain what fire-fighting appliances existed in Burnley in the earlier part of the 19th century but probably the township possessed a primitive manual pump: it is known

that a fire-bell, supported on wooden uprights, stood at the entrance to Market Street. The Commissioners of 1854-61 had grave doubts about the principle of levying rates to buy equipment which could only be used to save the private property of mill-owners and householders. They therefore circularised Fire Insurance Companies, which might benefit from the use of more up-to-date appliances and asked for contributions towards the cost of re-equipping the fire brigade. The replies were in the negative and the question of modernising the appliances was indefinitely postponed. However, the water manager was appointed Fire-Chief, possibly in the hope that he would use the small supply of water as sparingly as possible. It is said that before operating at any fire the officer made certain whether the threatened building was insured and, if not, who would pay for the water and fire services. This policy created so much dissatisfaction that Christopher Slater, the Inspector of Nuisances, was put in charge of the fire brigade, a position he held for 31 years, 1860-91. At first he was paid 5s. for attending at "an alarm," 10s. for the first hour at a fire, with 1s. for each other hour, and 3s. for a practice. Members of the brigade were accustomed to make a little extra by house-to-house collections at Christmas but in 1871 they accepted from the Council an annual gift of £21 in lieu thereof.

Suggestions were put forward in 1864 that the Council should buy a new steam fire-engine and a fire-float to be put on the Canal, and insist that fire-plugs should not be more than 100 yards apart. Little or nothing was done to carry out the proposals and in 1873 the equipment consisted of two hand-engines, of which no-one knew the age or origin, and one pipe-reel "which was expected to come to pieces the next time it was used." In general, the brigade relied on the water force in the mains rather than on the manual pumps to raise a jet, but even this help was denied in the case of mill fires because fire-plugs had been removed from mill-yards after it was found that they were used for filling mill-boilers. The purchase of a steam engine with four jets in 1874 at a cost of £1,444 gave a little more confidence, but at the first fire at which the "Calder" operated, disaster nearly occurred because crowds prevented the engineer from reaching his engine to check the pressure.

A new fire station costing £1,250 was erected in 1881 on the site of the old one in Manchester Road. Telephonic communication with eight parts of the town where ladders were kept, and electric fire-bells in certain streets, made the station "one of the most up-to-date in England." The equipment at the time consisted of one steam engine, one manual engine, one telescopic fire-escape, one hose cart (worn out), two

jumping sheets, eight ladders, 66 lengths of hose and 243 hydrants. The brigade consisted of the fire-chief, 12 regular firemen, and 12 reserve firemen; four horses belonging to the Burnley Carriage Company, were stabled at the station. In 1887 a second steam engine, the "Brun," was purchased for £900. In 1891 Mr. Slater resigned and the Corporation took the opportunity to put the brigade under the control of the police. In 1898 a very thorough re-organisation took place, more men were trained and a much needed recreation room was provided.

The fire brigade remained under the control of the Council until 1941 when the national need for concentration of fire-fighting units under a single control brought about a re-adjustment of brigades under State direction. Since 1948 further changes in administration have taken place. At present there are six fire-engines stationed in Burnley.

THE PUBLIC BATHS.

The privately owned baths which had been made in Fulfilledge about 1840 ceased within a few years to attract swimmers on account of the unsatisfactory condition of the water. The demand for swimming baths however remained and almost the last act of the Commissioners in 1861 was to receive a petition, 60' in length and signed by 2,500 ratepayers, asking for public baths. The Commissioners of course could not enter upon any new enterprise and the Town Council of 1862 had other important matters to settle, so that nothing was done to satisfy the request of the petitioners. The demand was met to a certain extent in 1863 when Mr. L. Ashworth opened the "Albert Baths" adjoining the Public Hall; here, there were two swimming baths and a number of private baths. The Public Hall and Baths were bought in 1867 by the Corporation for £2,200; the Hall became the Council Room and Town Offices, and the Baths, after some repairs had been carried out, were re-opened in 1868 as Municipal Baths. For a very short time a profit was made but soon expenses exceeded revenue; in 1879, for example, the weekly income was £2 but the wages amounted to £3. In 1879 the Baths were leased to Mr. J. Bradley for £35 a year but they were in such a bad state of repair that water leaked into the Council Chamber. In 1881, the Corporation once more took over control, repaired them, and once again re-opened them. Within a few months, they were again in a most unsatisfactory condition and the Corporation finally closed them in 1882. From that date until 1887 there were no public baths in Burnley though the Council did consider building on a site adjoining the fire station. The acquisition of land for the much needed Town Hall gave the Corporation the

opportunity to set aside part of the plot as the site of new Baths, and here the Central Baths were erected and opened in 1887. The Gannow Baths were opened in 1902 and the North Street Baths in 1910. The popularity of the Municipal Baths is shown by the fact that whereas in 1879 the total number of bathers was only 14,000, the number in 1945 exceeded 228,000.

CHAPTER VI.

Industries.**COTTON**

By 1850 Burnley had become an important cotton spinning town with approximately 50 spinning firms controlling some 400,000 spindles. At that time there were no firms engaged solely in weaving, and the 9,000 looms were run by spinning firms as an adjunct to their main business. Though some years were to elapse before weaving became definitely more important than spinning as a Burnley industry, the tendency to introduce looms into a spinning factory was growing. It was still believed, however, that no manufacturer could hope to succeed if he had to buy yarn from the spinners. Salford Mill, for example, had 6,032 throstle spindles, 5,648 mule spindles and 250 looms; and a firm which started in 1861 in Ashfield Shed had 43,000 spindles (throstle and mule) and 700 looms. Such a policy gradually changed, so that by 1878 there were 80 firms connected with both spinning and weaving, 11 with spinning on a large scale, and 20 small concerns engaged solely on weaving; by 1902 there were 18 spinning and weaving firms, two connected solely with spinning, and 87 large firms engaged solely in weaving.

The relative importance of spinning and weaving in Burnley at different periods may be seen from the following statistics:—

	Spindles.	Looms.
1850	400,000	9,000
1870	700,000	22,000
1880	900,000	35,275
1890	650,000	58,000
1900	600,000	79,000
1910	581,000	99,000
1927	550,000	87,500
1950	786,000	38,100

During twenty years, 1866-86, thirty Burnley firms closed down their spinning sections. Many of the mills, such as Moorfield Mill (Standish Street), which was only 15 yards by 7 yards and two storeys high, Brown Street Mill and Cuckoo Mill, stopped because, with out-of-date machinery and inconvenient buildings, they could not compete with the larger and more efficient factories; moreover, the owners of these small mills, as well as the owners of some large mills, suffered from lack of capital, so that the losses they sustained during the

Cotton Famine and the recurrent trade depressions made it impossible for them to modernise their equipment. Two enterprising firms, Matthew Watson and Birley Bros., did make a great effort to maintain the efficiency of their spinning mills; the former installed in 1878 33,000 of the latest throstle spindles in a newly-built shed in Daneshouse, and the latter, in the following year, equipped their mills, the Lodge and New Hall, with 90,000 new throstle spindles.

Soon after 1880, eight large spinning firms ceased to work—Hy. Nutter at Albion Mill, Sellers at Healey Royd Mill, Lancaster at King's Mill, Ogle at Parsonage Mill, Tunstill's at Goodham Hill, Harling and Todd at Newtown Mill, Slater at Sandygate Mill, and E. S. Massey at Victoria Mill; even the largest firm of all, Dugdales' at Lowerhouse, reduced the number of its spindles from 73,000 to 45,000. The main reason for the final and general diminution of Burnley's spinning industry was the competition from Oldham, where spinners, about 1880, adopted ring-spinning machines, each with 80,000-100,000 spindles. The new invention enabled cotton to be spun at $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a lb. cheaper than on the throstle and mule machines, so that Burnley manufacturers found it more profitable to buy yarn from Oldham than manufacture it for use in their own sheds. The only Burnley effort to meet the challenge from Oldham was made in 1886 by the Keighley Green Mill Co., which acquired the four-storied Keighley Green Mill from its bankrupt owners and equipped it with the latest spinning machinery. No other firms followed the example, and soon the contemporary newspapers were deploring the loss to Burnley of so many spinners and their families who had to leave the town to seek for work elsewhere. Fortunately, as spinning declined, weaving became more prosperous, and there was a rush by enterprising manufacturers to obtain empty sheds and fill them with looms.

Competition from Oldham, however, did not immediately ruin Burnley's spinning industry, though it certainly upset the throstle spinning trade. Ring-spinning machines were unable to make the finer counts, which had still to be made on mules, and, as Burnley's textile trade in 1850-85 was principally connected with printing cloths, T-cloths and "domestics," for which yarn of the finer counts was required, Burnley mule spinners were fully employed. It was some years after 1885, when market conditions forced Burnley manufacturers to weave the heavier cloths, that Burnley's spinning industry almost died out.

The weaving industry in Burnley increased so rapidly that in 1886 the town could make the proud boast that her



Branch Road. (approx. 1890).



Windermere Avenue (approx. 1930).

50,000 looms produced a greater length of cloth than any other town in the world. Several factors made possible such a high production record. Overhead charges were comparatively low, for in 1887 Burnley rates were only 7s. 9d. per head of the population as compared with 10s. 6d. in Accrington and 13s. 6d. in Blackburn; gas was 2s. 3d. per 1,000 cubic feet as compared with 3s. 1d. and 2s. 11d. in the other neighbouring towns, while coal and water were plentiful and cheap. Burnley operatives, too, were efficient and, though there were many disputes at individual mills and one or two extensive strikes, the workers were generally contented and hard-working; they were also thrifty, and there was no town of its size in England where there were more artisans living in their own houses than in Burnley. The decline of the spinning industry also facilitated the expansion of the weaving trade since, as mills were cleared of their throstles and mules, the space was quickly filled with looms. Newtown Mill, with its 6,460 spindles, was sold in 1858, and within a few weeks was equipped by its new owner with 410 looms. Advertisements such as "Wanted, a shed for 200-300 looms," were as frequent as "For sale, spinning machinery." Moreover, the best and most efficient mill engines were made in Burnley and Nelson, while the "Burnley loom" was the finest possible for plain weaving.

So great was the demand for loom-space that even the oldest mill buildings were taken over, and only four were demolished or adapted to other purposes during 1850-90. Many of the mills were extended and a considerable number of new mills were erected. The latter included Fulfilledge Mill, 1856; Olive Mount Mill, 1861; Marles Shed, 1865; Whittlefield (Crook and Collings), 1875; Healey Wood, 1881; Hollingreave, 1881; Bishop House, 1886; Cairo, 1886; Livingstone, 1888; Queen's, 1888; Stanley, 1891; and Peel's, 1896.

Many early manufacturers owned their own mill buildings, but after 1850 it became usual for a manufacturer to hire "room and power" in a mill from an individual or company that owned the building and engines. The earliest advertisement offering room and power in a Burnley mill occurs in 1855. The annual rental in 1866 was usually 42s. a loom, and remained at that figure in 1875; by 1886, however, during a period of depression, the usual charge was reduced to 36s. In 1888 room and power in Whittlefield Shed was leased for 38s. a loom, to which was added an extra £70 a year as rent for space for taping machines, etc. Such a system was of great help to ambitious operatives, since very little capital was required if they wished to become manufacturers. It was stated in 1888 that out of the existing 115 textile firms in Burnley, only one (Massey's) had been in existence since 1850, that most

of the old firms had become bankrupt, and that practically all the new manufacturing concerns had been started by enterprising operatives with little capital on the room and power system. The disadvantages of the new organisation became apparent whenever a depression in trade occurred, since at such periods masters with little capital or reserves had to cut selling prices and reduce wages—expedients which entailed losses and created disputes, and so often led to bankruptcy.

It was largely due to the disturbed nature of the textile market that Limited Liability Companies with fairly large reserves were formed to take over mills. Joshua Rawlinson, waste dealer, and secretary of the Masters' Federation, was chiefly responsible in the seventies for the formation of many such companies, and under his guidance separate companies were established to carry on work in Keighley Green Mill, 1874 (£20,000 capital in £10 shares): Oxford Mill, 1874; Hill Top Mill, 1874; Sandygate, 1874; and Olive Mount Mill, 1875. The dividends paid on shares show the hazards of manufacturing. The Sandygate Company, for example, during the first ten years of its existence, paid 17% for three years, 10% for one year, 5% for two other years, but could show no profit for the other four years.

During the later decades of the 19th century very few Burnley manufacturers made fortunes, for though costs of production were low, selling prices were so competitive that many were unable to make profits and so build up the necessary reserves to withstand a period of bad trade or economic disturbance. In 1858 a very slight falling off in demand brought about financial difficulties for the owners of Pickup Croft Mill and Lane Bridge Mill. The Cotton Famine ruined very many manufacturers, including the owners of Parsonage Mill, Rake Mill, Newtown, Marles, Ashfield (bankrupt for £5,000), a mill in Trafalgar Street (£15,000), Lane Bridge (£10,000), and Spruce Mill, the owner of which had to fall back on keeping a small draper's shop in Manchester. The troubles of 1877-8 caused the failure of firms at Mount Pleasant (£14,000), Hill Top (£2,000), Brownside (£1,000), Fulfilledge and Albion (£3,000), Parsonage (£25,000) and Daneshouse (£20,000). The most important manufacturers were at times eager to sell their property, and even J. H. Whitaker, who boasted that he was "the largest single-handed manufacturer in the world," was glad to dispose of his mills.

Occasionally, bankruptcy was caused by inexperience and carelessness. Such was the case when two partners with a capital of £1,400 borrowed more and took over Healey Wood Mill; of the partners, one could not read or write and the other

left the bookkeeping to a friend upon whom they relied for advice in all financial matters. In many instances gambling in "futures" on a large scale brought ruin. Bankruptcy of a large manufacturer usually resulted not only in the closing down of his own factories, but also generally involved disaster for many smaller manufacturers who wove "on commission" for him.

An interesting feature of Burnley's textile industry is the rise of "Co-operative" factories. As early as 1848 the "Padiham Co-operative Cotton Society" was founded by several hundreds of the workers of that town. The total subscribed capital of £10,000 was insufficient and therefore, as long credit was denied to them for the purchase of raw material, the Company had to sell its products at reduced prices to obtain ready cash. After six years, during which profits in excess of wages were only once distributed, members became alarmed and one of them, afraid of losing all, cut out his warps and took them home. He was prosecuted but acquitted on the ground that he could do as he wished with his own. Bankruptcy followed and the Company collapsed and with it went the failure of the first Padiham Co-operative Stores. A similar Society, known as the "Padiham Cotton League Company" started in 1863 but failed two years later for £8,000 owed to a Liverpool broker.

The first "Burnley Co-operative Textile Society" was formed in 1863 by a number of operatives who bought a building at the present Paper Works and equipped it with 43,000 spindles and 700 looms. The leaders of the "Burnley Spinning and Weaving Company," as the Society was known, were Mr. W. Wilcock and Mr. C. Farrer. The opening of the mill was celebrated by a tea-party and meeting addressed by Councillors Kay and Clegg and the Excise Officer. Unfortunately the Cotton Famine disturbed the market for a considerable time and, though workers received the normal wages for their work, no dividends were paid. At last, after working under abnormal conditions, the Company was wound up in 1870.

In March 1886 the important "Burnley Self-Help Manufacturing Society" was founded "to obtain for workers a greater interest in the results of their labour." Healey Royd Mill, at that time recently vacated by Messrs. J. and J. Sellers, was leased from J. S. Grimshaw, Esq., 400 looms and a number of spinning frames were installed, and capital in £5 shares was subscribed by operative-members and others. Mr. Wm. Holt was the prime mover in the scheme, Mr. Thos. Wood became the first President and Mr. Bancroft was appointed manager. According to the Rules of the Society, no interest or bonus was paid in cash to any working shareholder but was

added to his credit until his holding amounted to £20, and afterwards interest at 5% on each £20 was paid in cash; a non-working shareholder received cash interest on each share but if interest on such shares could not be paid out of profits, the deficit was paid out of wages; of any balance that might remain after interest had been paid, $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ was put to a depreciation fund, and of the remainder, three-fifths went to a reserve fund and two-fifths were paid as a bonus to workers in proportion to their earnings. Wages were paid according to the Burnley List. During the first year the share capital amounted to £3,700, of which £1,400 was subscribed by the workers, £1,260 by eleven Co-operative Societies, and £1,040 by private individuals; 72 men, 50 women, and 44 young persons were employed and at the end of the year £250 was paid to worker-shareholders as a bonus. The company eventually owned 1,032 looms and had 400 operative-shareholders. It failed in 1898 on account of bad trade, jealousy between the different sections of work-people, and the over-ambitious policy of the management which created a great deal of unrest in the Company. After re-organisation, reduction of capital and alteration of rules, the company started once more. In 1903, it managed to show a credit balance of £142 after paying all past debts, and was disappointed that the Co-operative Wholesale Society would not take it over. The Company eventually went into liquidation.

In November 1887, the "Whittlefield Self-Help Company" was formed to take over 542 looms from J. H. Whitaker in Whittlefield shed. The working capital was £1,800 issued in £2 shares of which only £1 was fully paid. The rent for room and power was 38s. a year per loom with an extra £70 for space for other machinery; the seven year old looms, valued at £8 each, were bought by quarterly instalments over four years. A similar company, the "Calder Vale Self-Help Company" was formed in April 1888 and took over 1,000 looms in Ashfield shed from J. H. Whitaker; its manager was James Whitaker, the son of the late owner.

Both Companies became bankrupt in 1889 to the great disappointment of workers in all districts who were watching these interesting experiments in co-operative ownership and management. The main reason for the failure was the depression in trade and the resulting low prices. After paying rent and a half-year's instalment on the purchase price of their looms, the Whittlefield Company lost £700 in the first six months, and the Calder Vale Company lost £250 in four months. To add to the difficulties, the owner of the building demanded rent in advance and creditors for over £5,000 pressed for payment. Agreements with owner and creditors were reached but

further losses were sustained and bankruptcy followed. At the public enquiry it was discovered that 80% of the operative-shareholders were youths and girls under 18 years of age who had taken over shares to get work; among them was James Whitaker, the manager; being minors, they were not liable for any capital not yet paid up.

In June 1887 the "Burnley Industrial Manufacturing Society," or the "Burnley Lane Self-Help Society" as it was more commonly known, raised £2,000 and installed 420 looms in Rake Head Mill, then recently vacated by Grey Bros. Initial difficulties proved too great for the Company which soon went into liquidation.

CLOTHS.

In 1850 the chief cloths woven in Burnley were printers, heavy greys, and shirtings; the looms were usually 42 inches wide. When the American Civil War 1863-5 caused a shortage of raw cotton in Lancashire, heavy sizing of yarn was introduced, and, as Burnley looms were not suited for weaving yarn so treated, the manufacture of the heavier cloths passed to Blackburn where "tape" looms were more commonly used. The manufacture of printing cloths in Burnley was therefore expanded, the 36 inch looms began to replace the 42 inch, and eventually Burnley gained such a monopoly of the printer trade (Burnley "lumps") that by 1886 Burnley had begun, as already stated, to produce a greater length of cloth per year than any other town in the world. Such a happy state of affairs continued until well into the 20th century but it should be remembered that the cloth was usually only 30 inches wide, woven plain, 72 warp threads per inch, 62 picks per inch and 40's counts. In addition, several improvements made by Burnley men in the "Burnley" loom increased its efficiency—the brake by J. Dodgeon, the taking-up motion by Pickles, the fork by James Bullough, the temple by Bonds, and the revolving shuttle box; the looms which had run at 90 picks a minute in 1883, and 180 in 1860, were speeded up to 215 in 1880. Though 'printers' easily remained the most important product, other weaves were introduced. T-cloths and "domestics" were introduced about 1870 but, as the demand began to fall about 1885, the manufacture of these cloths soon declined and they were replaced by "coloured" and "fancies" which had been made at Ashton-under-Lyne until a protracted strike ruined the trade of that town. The list of cloths made in Burnley in 1888 includes printers, jeans, stripes, Mexicans, twills, and twillettes, coloured specks, dobbies, satteens, shirtings and linens. At one time it was feared that Burnley

would lose the printer trade since manufacturers in other towns adopted an invention which enabled a very wide cloth to be woven with a selvedge at each edge and one in the centre; the cloth was then cut or "split" to form two pieces, the production costs of which were less than that of two similar pieces woven separately on narrow looms. The Burnley loom was not as a rule wide enough to allow such a weave and wider looms had to be introduced to cope with this demand for "splits."

HOURS.

Since the early days of the factory system the hours of work had been much reduced so that in 1850 mills worked from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. on five days and from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. on Saturdays; as one and a half hours a day were allowed for meals, operatives worked a 59 hour week. In 1875 the hours were further reduced to a weekly fifty-six and a half, i.e. 6—8 a.m., 8-30—12-30, 1-30—5-30 p.m. and on Saturdays 6—8 a.m. and 8-30—1 p.m. with the last half hour for loom sweeping. In 1902 engines stopped on Saturdays at 11-30 and 30 minutes were allowed for sweeping. These hours remained with only very slight alterations until 1947 when the forty-five hour week was introduced.

CHILDREN.

In 1850 children might be employed in a factory at the age of eight, but up to the age of thirteen they were not to work for more than six and a half hours a day and had to spend two hours a day at school, or spend alternate days at school and at the factory. In 1874 the minimum age was raised to ten years and all young factory workers between the ages of ten and fourteen had to attend school "half-time" unless they could satisfy an Inspector of Schools that they had reached a certain standard in education. The minimum age was raised to eleven in 1891, and to twelve in 1901 with compulsory half-time attendance at school up to the age of fourteen; the half-time system was finally abolished in 1920. In order to prevent any dislocation in the work of the mill, manufacturers employed separate morning and afternoon batches of half-timers.

The problem of half-timers was a frequent topic of discussion in Burnley. Schoolmasters and social reformers maintained that a full education was worth far more to a child than the few pennies which he earned, while many parents

insisted that the normal family income was insufficient to meet the extra cost of maintaining children as they grew older; some manufacturers claimed that only those who began to learn the art of weaving when very young ever made good weavers and, at the same time, vigorously supported Mr. D. Holmes, President of the Weavers' Union, who argued that competition with foreign manufacturers was so acute that the cotton industry would be ruined if masters had to pay an adult to do the work of a child. Mr. Holmes however considered that the half-time system was indefensible in those industries which had no foreign rivals.

It is pathetic to read of the many accidents that occurred to children in factories; e.g. a creeler, aged eleven, who had worked in the mill for three years, was terribly injured when manipulating a hoist that was too heavy for him. Many of the children were pauper apprentices brought in batches from workhouses in various parts of England. Just before Christmas 1860 a number arrived from St. Pancras to work in Burnley factories and shortly afterwards a much larger group came from Liverpool to work in a mill in Westgate. Of the latter children, thirty four were persuaded to form a choir to entertain the operatives at the annual treat to the mill workpeople; the favourite songs of the children were "Hail, Smiling Morn'" and "Jerusalem, My Happy Home." The employment of pauper apprentices was gradually abandoned as the minimum age was raised and the maximum length of working hours was reduced.

FACTORY ACTS.

During this period safeguards to ensure the safety and health of operatives were made compulsory. By the Act of 1844, protection against dangerous machinery had to be provided and the employment of young persons in the cleaning and oiling of machinery while in motion was prohibited. Later Acts made it obligatory on mill owners to whitewash the walls, install a satisfactory lighting system, and provide reasonably good sanitary arrangements. An Act of 1889 regulated the conditions under which steam might be used to make the atmosphere of weaving sheds more humid, a practice originally made necessary by the use of Surat cotton which was first introduced during the Cotton Famine. It is impossible to enumerate here all the Factory Acts relating to textile mills, but from provision for ventilation to protection against fire, from the closing of factories during meal times to providing a First Aid outfit, almost every precaution was made compulsory to meet all dangers, both seen and unseen.

Magistrates and factory inspectors showed neither fear nor favour when dealing with breaches of the Factory Acts. In the earlier years some Burnley mills were notorious for running overtime, but such heavy penalties were imposed that, after 1861, there were few offences of this nature. In 1859, for example, George Slater was fined the maximum penalty of £100 and nearly £50 costs for running 15 minutes after time, though he pointed out that the 110 operatives were paid by piece rates and could therefore earn a little more by working the extra minutes. There were several cases of un-whitewashed mills, of failure to provide guards on dangerous machinery, of allowing the sweeping and oiling of moving machines, and of employing children who had not produced an "age certificate." A resident Factory Inspector for Burnley and the immediate district was appointed in May 1861 and his presence undoubtedly had much to do with the better observance of factory regulations.

WAGES.

Wages were paid on a piece-rate basis but before the adoption of the 1873 Standard Burnley List, the rates varied from mill to mill, and even in the same mill variations were common. Such a position was due to the fact that some operatives were willing to accept lower rates on the promise of extra or full time should the mill ever run on short time. It was stated that a six-loom weaver in 1859 received 28s. and a three loomer 14s.—15s. for a 56 hour week and this estimate is supported from another source which gave the earnings of a family of seven workers as £3 3s. 0d.—father and mother, 30s.; two children over 14 years, 24s.; and three children under 14 years, 9s. On the other hand, it was reported in 1861 at a meeting of the Poor Law Guardians that a family of six working at the Parsonage Mill earned only £1 6s. 3½d.—father (three looms) 6s. 6d.; son aged 30 (three looms) 6s. 4½d.; daughter over 18 (two looms) 4s.; daughter aged 15 (two looms) 2s. 1d.; daughter aged 25 (spinner) 5s. 8d.; and son aged 13 (doffer) 1s. 8d.

An average of 30s.—32s. for a six-loom and 24s.—26s. for a four-loom weaver per week seems to have been the basis on which the first effective Burnley List was made in 1873. The attitude of Burnley weavers to the question of six looms or four looms per weaver is interesting. In general, it was thought that no weaver should be allowed to take more than four looms (for which he should be paid at the rate of 6s. per loom) in the belief that restricted output would result in higher prices and

constant employment; if at any time supply should exceed demand then short time at the fixed rate of 6s. a loom should be worked.

After the 1873 Burnley List had been accepted by both manufacturers and workpeople, some firms caused trouble by paying less than the agreed rates but, though the Weavers' Association withdrew its members from the mills concerned, a complete stoppage did not always ensue. Alterations in the standard rates became necessary when trade was depressed and between 1873 and 1911 the following changes were made—1873-8, List prices; 1878, 10% reduction; 1879-80, further 5% reduction; 1881-3 5% advance; 1883-5 5% reduction; 1885-7, 5% advance; 1887, 7½% advance; 1888, original List restored; 1900, 5% advance; 1906, 2½% advance; 1911, 5% advance.

GRIEVANCES.

The greatest source of discontent among Lancashire weavers up to 1873 was the lack of a standard "List" to ensure a uniform rate of payment, and even after 1873 the same grievance remained when some masters consistently paid less than the recognised rates; a "round robin" was then signed by the workpeople and forwarded to the management and a lock-out or strike was the inevitable result. After days and sometimes weeks of bargaining, work was resumed in the mill, sometimes on the master's terms, sometimes on conditions laid down by the operatives. Allied to the grievances over rates of pay were the frequent complaints of the weavers that woven pieces of cloth were inaccurately measured; this difficulty was overcome in 1891 when manufacturers were legally compelled to fix tickets on the warp to show its length. Trouble was also frequently caused by the management insisting on the weaving of narrow pieces on broad looms but paying according to the List for narrow cloth.

The system of fining for bad work gave rise to innumerable disputes. The weaver put the blame on bad weft or a faulty loom while the master usually maintained that the "fault" was due to the carelessness or the intemperate habits of the weaver. If the weaver refused to pay the fine, he might be given notice to leave and he well knew that he would have great difficulty in getting work in another mill; or, if in his annoyance he left immediately, he might be prosecuted for leaving without giving seven days' notice. Fines for lateness (generally 1d. for each five minutes) or for absenteeism caused much bitterness, but the greatest penalty for the weaver was to having his looms "shopped." The system of shopping a weaver's

looms was usually adopted whenever a weaver, unable for some reason to come to work, had not provided a "sick" weaver at least an hour before the mill started.

The law that required both masters and workpeople to give a seven days' notice before leaving a mill often caused trouble. On one occasion, a firm at Finsley Mill prosecuted two women weavers for not working a complete week before leaving and there was a counter-claim for wages already earned. One defendant had spent a day at Blackpool and was ordered to put in another day at the mill before legally leaving and claiming her wages; the other proved illness for two days and was allowed wages for the remainder of her notice.

Tacklers had the power to dismiss weavers and were often accused of tyranny. The quarrel between the two bodies of workers became so embittered that a joint council of Burnley overlookers and weavers was set up to examine each case on its merits and impose penalties on the party in the wrong. Apparently the Council only lasted a year or two, and probably ended because overlookers, who were proved to be in the wrong, refused to submit themselves to such an arbitrary court. The "slate" system was particularly obnoxious to weavers. Under it, the overlooker wrote on a slate for all to see the rise and fall in the weekly earnings of each weaver in his section; as his own wages depended on output and therefore on the earnings of his weavers, many a timid weaver suffered mental torture lest the slate should show a constant decrease.

A further grievance was that the recognised holidays were limited to six days in the year—two at Christmas, Good Friday, Whit-Monday, and two at the Fair. Much bitterness was caused when attempts were made to reduce even these holidays by opening mills on Good Friday and Whit-Monday and fining absentees 6d. a loom. Eventually the Trades Council was able to bring about a more permanent and satisfactory arrangement.

The Weavers' Association, acting through the aggrieved operatives, brought many cases before the magistrates. Generally they were cases concerning claims for wages after dismissal or for refusing to pay a fine, but the verdicts were usually in favour of the employers. One interesting but unsuccessful claim for wages lost by "playing for weft" was of considerable importance, for had the weaver won his case, the whole structure of the List must necessarily have been altered and payment on a time basis rather than a piece basis might have been introduced. A very important decision for

Burnley weavers concerned an employer who paid part of a weaver's wage with a piece of faulty cloth that the weaver had woven; the worker lost his case before the magistrates but won on his appeal to a higher court because the Truck Act had been infringed. In another case, a successful claim by a female operative against her employer for damages for wrongful dismissal revealed the fact that the management had allowed her to go home "for three or four days" because she was "sick and unfit" but had dismissed her at the end of a week because at the end of "four days" she had neither returned nor provided a "sick" weaver.

In spite of all grievances, one must remember that at the majority of mills the workpeople were contented and happy as far as the normal conditions of the period allowed. Newspaper reports and minute-books also show that the so-called tyranny of masters was limited to a comparatively small number. Most employers were kindly disposed to their employees, paid for annual excursions and gave many "treats," loyally kept their agreements and listened sympathetically to all complaints. Unfortunately, discontent, engendered in the worst mills, tended to inflame workers in other mills and an unscrupulous master's "victory" always created the fear that his example would be followed by all employers.

1900-50.

During the last fifty years, the cotton trade has continued to employ a greater number of workpeople than any other industry in Burnley but it has declined in relative importance and Burnley today is no longer entirely dependent on one industry. Up to the outbreak of the First World War the cotton trade was stimulated by a constant demand from world markets and several very large factories were erected and equipped with the latest machinery to take advantage of the excellent prospects; among the new mills were Heasandford and Primrose in 1904, Cameron, Imperial, Woodbine, Lodge (rebuilt), and Queensgate in 1906, Browhead and Park in 1907, Habergham and Oak Bank in 1913, and Ferndale 1914. The War of 1914-18 proved disastrous to Burnley's cotton manufacture. The printer trade with the Near and Middle East had already been badly hit by the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 and the remaining markets in Africa and the Far East were practically closed at the outbreak of the greater struggle in the following year. To make matters worse, Burnley looms were unsuitable for the manufacture of khaki and heavier cloths which the Government demanded, while shortage of raw cotton brought about the creation of the Cotton Control Board

which apportioned the restricted amount of available yarn among manufacturers. Keighley, Bros. invented a device which made possible the weaving of heavier cloths on Burnley looms, but, even with the added work which the invention brought to Burnley factories, not more than 60% of the looms were running and then only for four days a week. After the War was over, a boom set in and lasted for four or five years. Then followed a long depression that brought unemployment to many operatives, lengthy periods of short time, and disaster to many manufacturers; many mills were dismantled and became derelict. This sudden decline in Burnley's cotton trade, which had such important effects on the industrial life of the town, was due to many causes. The scarcity of cotton goods which had been created by the War was quickly satisfied during the boom period, and mills that continued production soon had their warehouses stocked with cloth for which there was no sale; in addition, foreign firms, especially Japan, with cheap labour and modern machinery began to compete in British overseas markets, while rising costs of production at home and, in some cases, over-capitalisation of mills made the sale of Burnley "printers" more difficult than ever in her usual markets. Various remedies were suggested, some of which have been recently adopted—the introduction of automatic looms, more looms (with improvements) per weaver, working in shifts, and the closing of the older and redundant mills. By 1930 most manufacturers had realised that Burnley's pre-eminence in the "printer" trade might never return and they therefore turned to more expensive and complex weaves, a policy which has continued to the present time. There are now 54 firms with 50 mills manufacturing printers, limbries, satteens, twills, cashmeres, drills, cambries, poplins, bleachers, shadow stripes, dobbies, shirtings and jeans; some manufacturers have introduced rayons and others make specialised cloths.

Since the Second World War, Burnley's cotton trade has experienced a time of prosperity, and vigorous efforts have been made to attract school-leavers into the industry as well as bring back weavers who had left the trade during the inter-war slump period. Instruction in the art of weaving, which was once given by parents to their children in the mills is now usually entrusted to teachers of classes of "learners." Wages were in 1950 higher than ever before, a forty-five hour week is worked, while canteens, rest-rooms, the services of health experts, the provision for welfare and social activities, and the re-spacing of looms have made mill-life far less arduous than was ever thought possible by the weavers of a hundred years ago.

THE COAL INDUSTRY.

In the middle of the 19th century Burnley's coal industry was passing through a period of change. On the one hand, a number of the old small mines could be found where coal was brought to the surface in baskets and where ventilation was effected by fires at the bottom of the shaft; at the same time, there were several new pits which showed great improvements but still left much to be desired according to present-day standards. The "New Pit" at Gannow, opened in 1856, was 250 yards deep and had a chain as "winding rope"; a pit in Fulfilledge, opened in 1862, was 200 yards deep and had an open cage that swung free in the shaft so that the two occupants were liable to injury from falling debris, while in the same pit the inefficiency of the new ventilating fan compelled the miners to resort to the ancient custom of making fires whenever an unusually large amount of firedamp collected; Broughton Pit in Ightenhill, opened in 1863, had one winding pulley, headstocks only eight yards high, and a second-hand wire winding rope. Before the end of the century, many of the older pits, such as Bartle Hills Pit and the Parsonage Pit in Curzon Street, had been closed and the rest had been modernised, with more efficient fans and air compressors, mechanical haulage, safety precautions and safer and better explosives. In 1900 the following pits were being worked:—Hapton Valley 1853, Burnt Hills 1853, Knotts, Boggart Brig 1860, Rowley 1861, Bank Hall 1867, Causeway End 1869, Cliviger, Cornfield, Cheapside (Habergham) 1872, Clifton 1876, Bee Hole 1878, and Reedley 1879.

The Burnley mines were owned by the "Exors. of John Hargreaves." and the Towneley pits, which included Hambleton and Wholaw Nook Pits, were owned by Messrs. Brooks and Pickup. The Cliviger Colliery Company had pits known as "Copy," "Railway," and "Union."

Fortunately, there have been few pit explosions in Burnley and none has caused serious loss of life. Fatal accidents have been generally due to mechanical defects, such as the breaking of haulage ropes, and falls of roof. The Bee Hole Colliery was flooded in 1882 but happily there were no fatal results. The greatest disaster in the district occurred in 1883 at Moorfield Pit near Accrington, where 63 out of 111 miners in the pit were killed by an explosion: none of them came from Burnley.

The number of miners engaged underground in the local mines rose from about 1,600 in 1850 to 2,400 in 1900. Most of the coal was used locally either as fuel for houses and mills

or as coke for foundries. Salford Mill boasted in 1850 that it could obtain all the coal required from a pit "only two minutes away" (Parsonage Pit). In 1879, coal-carting from Rowley to Brownside cost 2d. a load, and from Bank Hall to Marles shed 1½d. a load. These were the prices charged by Rhoda Dean of Ridge Side Farm.⁽¹⁾

The variations in the selling price of coal were important not only to the consumers but perhaps more so to the miners whose wages rose or fell according to the rise or fall in the market price of coal. In 1873 Bank Hall domestic coal sold for 9½d. a cwt. and Whittlefield domestic coal for 7½d. a cwt., but Bank Hall unscreened coal cost only 7¼d. and slack only 5¼d. a cwt.; three years later "best" Burnley coal realised 8½d. a cwt. These prices were further reduced in 1879 to 6d. a cwt. for screened coal and 3½d. for unscreened, and when they rose a little in 1882 Burnley coal-hawkers went on strike to compel coal owners to reduce prices by 1d. a cwt., thus enabling them to sell at 8d. a cwt. Prices however continued to rise owing to the growing demand for coal from houses, mills, and gasworks, and in 1904, when it was said that "coal was too dear to buy," Burnley household coal was sold at the following prices:—"Handpicked" 17s. 11d. a ton or 1s. 0¼d. a cwt. in bags; "Best" at 14s. 7d. a ton or 10½d. a cwt. in bags; "Seconds" at 12s. 1d. a ton or 8¾d. a cwt. in bags; "Bing" coal was much cheaper.

Causes of discontent in the mines were many and varied, but the two main grievances of the miners were connected with the length of the working day and, above all, with the whole wage structure. For many years there was little chance of redress because it was most difficult to establish a local branch of a trade union in an industry where great poverty and many sectional jealousies existed; in addition, as all the local mines were owned by only two firms, a dissatisfied miner had little hope of finding work in another pit, should he give expression to his feelings.

In 1850 miners worked twelve hours a day (4 a.m. to 4 p.m.) in a six day week but in 1872 the hours were reduced to ten a day and in 1887 a further concession was made by closing the pits on Saturdays at 1 p.m. In 1889 Burnley miners took up the cry of "Eight hours a day and a five-day working week" but it was not until 1909 that the Eight Hours Act gave them the much desired reduction. The underground employment of women and girls and of boys under nine years of age was forbidden in 1842 but they might be employed on the surface. A boy, eight years old, who was employed to oil wagons, was killed at his work in 1861 at the Parsonage Pit in

Curzon Street. An Act of 1872 raised the minimum age for underground workers to ten years and insisted that no boys between the ages of ten and sixteen were to work more than fifty four hours a week with a maximum of ten hours a day. The minimum age was raised to thirteen in 1887 and to fourteen in 1891.

Wages were paid on a piece-rate basis, i.e. on each "tub" of coal sent to the surface, but since owners paid little attention to the varying conditions and difficulties under which coal was mined even in the same pit, some Burnley miners in 1850 could earn only 3s. a day while others earned 5s. 6d. Moreover, as it has already been stated, the existing rate per tub was dependent on the selling price of coal, so that the miner often found that his wages were reduced although the price of goods, other than coal, remained normal. For example, in 1876 coal was reduced by 1s. 10d. a ton and therefore miners suffered a reduction of 10%; in the following year, prices again fell and wages were again reduced. Further grievances lay in the deductions made for dirt among the coal sent to surface and in the possibility that the amount of coal which each man mined was incorrectly recorded in the office ledger. It is difficult to obtain wage statistics for each year but it appears that the average weekly wage for a "getter" in 1850 was 24s., in 1872 40s., in 1889 30s. and 1900 35s.; the "drawers" received 6s. 8d. a week less. It should be noted that the Burnley miners were rather better off than the colliers in the Wigan area where deductions were made for supplying picks, lamp oil, and pick-sharpening; Burnley miners suffered no deductions except for dirt in the coal, absenteeism (generally on Mondays), and lateness.

Payment of wages according to the number of filled tubs was the source of much discontent. The miners struck at Copy Pit in 1867 because new tubs, which the owners provided were thought to be larger than the old ones, and, as these had to be filled at the old rates, a loss of 9½d. on every six tubs was sustained by the coal getters. Actually, the system of paying by measure or tub might have been abolished in 1860 and again in 1872 but Burnley coal owners and miners agreed to contract out of the clauses of the Acts of Parliament which allowed miners to appoint checkweighmen and receive wages according to the weight of mined coal. The matter came to a head in 1889 when the Mines' Inspector prosecuted the three local Colliery Companies for non-observance of the 1860 Act; the case eventually reached the House of Lords where a verdict was given in favour of the owners. The colliers themselves were divided on the question, and therefore union

officials paid surprise visits to several collieries and weighed the contents of tubs chosen at random; it was then discovered that at all pits, except one, payment by measure was more advantageous to the miners than payment by weight. The whole position was regularised in 1901 when owners and miners agreed that wages should be paid according to weight and that checkweighmen should be appointed by the workers to watch their interests.

The first real effort to prevent the innumerable disputes about wages was made in 1893. In 1892, the colliers were overjoyed by an extraordinary increase of 40% but they were equally dismayed in the following year when the owners demanded a reduction of 25%; some miners thought that the reduction would be based on the old wages of 1891 and persuaded all to strike. A "Conciliation Board" was therefore set up and the strike ended, and, though the Board supported the demand for a reduction, the Burnley miners loyally observed the award. In 1894 the Board granted a further reduction of 10% and wages once more stood at the 1891 level. Until 1912 this new method of solving disputes worked fairly well but as a consequence of the great coal strike the Government introduced in 1913 the Minimum Wage Act.

In 1881 the "Exors." suggested the formation of the "Burnley Miners' Relief Society" for the relief of miners during sickness and recovery from accidents, and for the relief of widows and children of miners killed in the pits. Adult miners paid 3d. a week, boys under 16 paid 1½d. a week, and the firm subscribed to the fund 25% of all the contributions received. A similar scheme, the "Towneley Miners' Relief Society," was started in the same year by Messrs. Brooks and Pickup. By 1891 there were 1,971 members with a balance of £4,063 in the Burnley Society and 733 members with £1,264 in the Towneley Society. In spite of the fact that any miner who joined one of these Relief Societies thereby forfeited his right of compensation for accident as granted by the Employers' Liability Act of 1880, the Societies flourished until 1896 when the Workmen's Compensation Act refused to recognise the right of workers and masters to make their own arrangements about claims for compensation. A further Act in 1906 brought more restrictions and in May 1907 a ballot among the Burnley miners to decide whether they should form a new Society or rely entirely on the benefits given by the 1906 Act resulted in a majority for the new Act by 1,769 to 1,035. The Societies therefore refused to accept any more contributions but continued to exist until their funds had become exhausted in paying out claims already incurred.

The 20th century brought difficulties and changes that affected every department of the coal industry. Wages continued to rise and the strike of 1912 gave the miners the right to a minimum wage in each coal-mining area, irrespective of market conditions, while the Act of 1908 limited the working day to eight hours. These rising costs of production added to the difficulties of the owners, who were already faced with the problem of how to replace old machinery in order to work the more distant and therefore less profitable parts of the older mines. Selling prices, however, did not keep pace with the rise in production costs on account of the keen competition between firms for the home markets; in fact, the owners maintained that the difference between costs and selling price per ton was so small that a mine could only be kept going if it produced more and more coal. Prices therefore remained low and over-production resulted, during the summer months, in short time and unemployment, with ensuing discontent among the miners.

About 1930 the principle of "rationalisation" was introduced into the coal industry. Under the new system, coal owners in each area agreed to accept the instructions of a central area Committee which determined the limit of output from each colliery, regulated selling areas and prices, and, in short, eliminated competition. Those mines which were redundant or unable to produce coal at a reasonable profit were closed down.

The mines are now (1950) nationalised and work under the direction of the National Coal Board which has installed the most modern machinery. Six local mines are being worked:—Bank Hall, Reedley, Hapton Valley, Clifton, Salterford, and Altham. Amenities in the form of canteens, pithead shower baths, lockers, etc. have been introduced for the miners' benefit while higher wages and shorter hours have undoubtedly raised their standard of living.

IRON AND ENGINEERING.

Nine "Iron and Brass Founders" are named in the 1854 Directory. The firm of Marsland, established in the Meadows in 1817, was bought by Wm. Bracewell of Barnoldswick and a Mr. Griffiths about 1860 and soon afterwards, Bracewell became the sole proprietor; on his death in 1887 a Limited Liability Company with a capital of £20,000 in £10 shares acquired the property which consisted of the iron foundry and two mills leased out on the room and power principle. The new owners took the name of the "Burnley Ironworks Company" and

continued to specialise in the manufacture of steam engines. In 1884 Bracewell's performed something of an engineering feat by making an engine that had a beam weighing 32 tons; it was transported in two halves to a Welsh lead mine. Under the new management, the firm began to compete in foreign markets and in 1884 secured a contract to supply engines in Madras. The iron foundry in Bethesda Street was established about 1850 by William Giles Cooper, son of a Bury iron-moulder, and specialised in the manufacture of steam engines; it became a Limited Company in 1890. George Graham, partner in the firm of Graham and Shepherd, had a foundry and engineering shop at Lane Bridge and was one of the earliest loom-makers in Burnley. Mr. Graham lived at "Temperance House," Healey Height, and in 1860 was presented by his workpeople with a tea-service in recognition of his temperance work. He sold his foundry in 1879. Other 1854 foundries were owned by Harling and Todd (Calder Foundry, Hammerton Street), Robert Heaton (Royle Road Foundry), William Hudson (Grimshaw Street), James Pollard, jun. (Hammerton Street), James Pollard, sen. (Pitt Street), and Samuel Wilkinson (Saunders Bank). Many of the above iron-founders together with Thomas Sagar, who had a foundry on the site of the Central Co-operative Stores, were also loom-makers.

The iron and engineering industries in Burnley made such progress that for many years after 1880 a greater number of looms were made in Burnley than in any other town in the World. In 1886 an average of 300 looms a week were made and this number tended to rise, e.g. Cooper's, which in 1850 made only 24 looms a week was producing 100 in 1892. Such prosperity naturally encouraged the expansion of old foundries and workshops and the establishment of new ones. In 1902 five power-loom makers, 21 machine-makers, and ten iron and brass founders were listed.

The history of the firm of George Keighley, Ltd. shows remarkable initiative on the part of a Burnley man. George Keighley, son of a Burnley artisan, was born in 1831 and after attending various schools went at the age of ten years to work in a cotton warehouse. Three years later he became an apprentice engineer at Finsley Mill, attended night school, and sold books on Saturday afternoons to help the family income. After serving his apprenticeship in Burnley, he worked for two years in Bury and Hyde. On his return to his native town, he opened his own business over a saw-mill in Stanley Street where he made a living by repairing old engines. Soon he was able to open a workshop in Trafalgar Street and in 1865 began to manufacture looms. In 1889 he became the first Burnley manufacturer of "Velocipedes" (the early form of bicycle)

and advertised "a large practice room is available to purchasers.' The Trafalgar Street Works were extended as business grew and the owner began to give a great deal of attention to the construction of mill-buildings. In 1875 he purchased the Bank Top Ironworks, a fitting climax to a very successful career. He was a keen supporter of Brunswick Chapel, an Alderman and a Mayor, a founder of the Victoria Hospital and a willing helper in every worthy cause.

The engineering trade in Burnley has been more free from labour troubles than any other major industry. Perhaps such a fortunate state of affairs was due to the nature of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers which preferred to settle disputes by negotiation or arbitration and considered that relief in times of sickness or death was equal in importance to strike-pay. The leaders also believed that education was an essential part of the policy of the Society, which may account for the fact that in 1870 the Burnley engineers formed "The Circle of Science Lodge No. 10" and took a room in the Mechanics' for discussion classes. The Amalgamated Society was formed in 1851 and soon afterwards a Burnley Branch was established which met every other Saturday in the Sun Inn. In 1867 the Branch had 120 members who contributed £323 to the funds; in the following year the income was £373 and the expenses £483, which included a gift of £100 to a member who had been permanently disabled. In 1870 the payment of benefits for unemployment, sickness, superannuation, accidents and deaths (of three members aged 30, 33 and 53 from consumption) raised the expenses to £945 but the Branch with 117 members received large donations from three other Branches and remained solvent.

The first serious disputes occurred in 1872. Already in that year, George Keighley, Sagar's and Bracewell's had granted a nine hour day and their example was rather reluctantly followed by other firms. The moulders then asked that their wages should be advanced by 4s. i.e. from 30s. to 34s. a week and when negotiations failed, a strike occurred at five foundries; a compromise was soon reached and the dispute was settled. The second important quarrel broke out in 1879, a year of bad trade, made all the worse by the textile disturbances of the preceding year. The trade was so bad that all firms were partially stopped and, at Sagar's only six out of 90 workmen could be engaged. One firm then made reductions of 1s. for those earning £1 a week and 2s. for those earning more than a £1; the result was that 40—50 engineers struck work but 150 journeymen and labourers continued and the strike collapsed. Two years later the weekly wages of mechanics rose by 2s. to 32s. and those of labourers to 21s.

Wages remained approximately at this level until 1913 when the engineers asked for an advance of 2s. a week. Nearly 1,700 Burnley men were affected by the strike which lasted for 23 weeks and finished in April 1914 after both sides had agreed on an advance of 1s.

CHAPTER VII.

Trade Unionism.

At first sight it would seem that the opening of the period 1850-1950 ought to have coincided with the beginning of a fairly prolonged peace in industry. The reduction of duties on imports and exports during the ministry of Sir Robert Peel 1840-6 had helped to re-establish the export trade, while the abolition of the Corn Laws by the same ministry had reduced the price of bread. The disturbing influence of the Chartists had also declined as economic conditions had improved, and it really seemed that the working classes would be contented. These hopes were not realised. Wages tended to fall as the cost of living was reduced; no trade unions existed to watch the interests of Burnley workers and no standards of pay were observed in the cotton industry. In a few towns, such as Blackburn and Bolton, however, the cotton masters had agreed to adopt a uniform "list."

THE WEAVERS.

As part of a Lancashire-wide movement, the Burnley weavers held a meeting in early August 1852 in the Market Place to discuss the best means of getting higher wages. This meeting was followed soon afterwards by another in Fulleage Meadow where a demand was made for a 10% general increase. The spinners joined the agitation and a great demonstration was held on August 6th at Padiham. At first, the Burnley masters seem to have accepted the demands, and the leaders of the operatives agreed that some workers, who were already receiving a higher wage than the average, should suffer a reduction. Such a happy settlement was not destined to last, for the Burnley mill-owners, in common with other Lancashire masters, formed a "Masters' Association" on Aug. 15th 1852 and, having bound themselves to be loyal to one another under a large penalty, resolved to reject all the demands of the workers. Trouble ensued and the masters declared a "lock-out" on October 28th. Fifty-six mills were closed in Burnley and Padiham, 12,000 operatives were unemployed, and, in Burnley, 502,000 spindles and 12,500 looms were idle. Riots broke out in Wigan and much bitterness arose in Bacup, Preston and Stockport. A mass meeting at Burnley on October 29th deplored the Wigan disorders but would not accept the advice of Charles Owen, who, as a Radical, was anxious to establish the principle of the right of each individual to make his own

contract with his masters. Two days later, a larger meeting was held at Marsden where Lancashire speakers urged co-operation among all textile workers throughout the County, while on November 2nd a Stockport speaker asked a Burnley meeting in the Market Place to "stand firm." Meanwhile the clergy opened Sandygate School and there taught writing, reading, history, and geography to the unemployed. A relief committee collected a little over £112 and distributed a small amount of meal to about 2,000 families. In general, the public sympathised with the operatives.

On December 19th the Burnley masters met in the Bull Inn and after discussion agreed to open the mills and pay rates which would be posted in the mills when work was resumed, but they would not permit collections to be made in the mills for the benefit of workers still on strike in other towns; they also affirmed that, as trade was so bad, they could not pay high wages but that they would help to meet all genuine grievances. The Burnley operatives were thankful for any concession, but their leaders resigned and a new Committee was appointed. The published rates of pay showed that the spinners had obtained a 10% increase but the weavers obtained no improvement. For some considerable time after the dispute, the mills ran for four days a week.

In May 1854 the weavers decided to form an emigration society and at the same time agreed to help weavers in other towns who were still suffering from the lock-out. Two months later a Chartist meeting was held at Deerplay and thousands attended to hear an impassioned plea "to get hold of the land" and a fierce denunciation of Cobden and Bright who "by reducing the price of bread had reduced wages." It seemed that the events of 1842 would be repeated.

About 1858 the East Lancashire Amalgamated Society of Power Loom Weavers was formed to enforce a uniform scale of pay throughout East Lancashire; with 12,000 members, a paid organising secretary (Mr. Abram Pinder), and regular committee meetings at Bolton, it soon became clear that another struggle between masters and men could not long be delayed. A Burnley Branch of the Amalgamated Society was formed in 1859 with Mr. John Pinder as Secretary.

The first clash came in 1859 in Padiham where weavers resented the autocratic attitude of certain masters who had once been operatives and where many had suffered financially from the failure of their two co-operative industrial companies. The Padiham strike was not complete and out of ten mills, four worked all through the strike and some of the remainder were

only partially stopped. The Union demanded (a) the adoption of the Blackburn List which the weavers claimed was 12% higher than the average Padiham rates, (b) the right of Mr. Pinder to enter any mill, and (c) the right of Mr. Pinder to negotiate on behalf of the workers. The Padiham masters, supported by the Masters' Association, declared that a uniform scale throughout Lancashire was impossible on account of varying local conditions (e.g. coal prices, distance from Liverpool and Manchester) and that wages, like prices, were subject to the laws of supply and demand; much less would they recognise the right of the weavers' secretary to enter mills or negotiate.

There was some disorder in Padiham and even in Church Street, Burnley, the windows of a house were broken because it sheltered a strike breaker. Weekly meetings were held in the Burnley Market Place and were addressed by the Rev. E. A. Verity, Vicar of All Saints'; collections were made and £30 was sent each week to help in paying strike pay of 7s. a week. At one time it was thought that the strike would extend to Burnley "which was ten times worse than Padiham" for "only the best weavers with six looms could make 28s. a week and a woman with three looms could earn only 14s." In Barrowford the weavers were asked to sign "The Document" in which they agreed not to join a trade union.

After the strike had lasted twenty-five weeks, Mr. Waddington approached both sides and then it was found that the Blackburn List was very little different from the average rates in Padiham and that, in the case of some sorts, the Padiham weavers had the advantage. Work was resumed and the weavers abandoned their claims.

The next important strike broke out in Colne where the weavers demanded an advance in wages and the adoption of a uniform list. Both masters and men seemed determined to fight out the struggle until one side or the other gave way; the masters received help from their Association and the men were supported in every town in Lancashire by collections and levies on looms. Though strike breakers were brought in from Coventry, the men held out for eleven months, June 1860 to May 1861. The end came through events in Blackburn and Accrington where in February 1861 the masters gave notice of a 5% reduction and rejected the offer of their weavers to work short time at the standard rate. The leaders of the Weavers' Union were now in a dilemma for it was clear that they could not afford to pay out strike-money in three towns at the same time, Colne, Blackburn, and Accrington. Consequently, while some officials wanted to call off the strikes at Blackburn and Accrington in order to concentrate on Colne, others were anxious to change the scene of the struggle. The delay was fatal,

for Blackburn weavers began to return to work and Colne workers, very disheartened, once more sought work at their former mills.

1862-1864. THE COTTON FAMINE.

Since 1785 the importation of raw cotton from the Southern States of America had so increased that out of the three million bales imported into England in 1859 more than two million came from America. When, therefore, civil war broke out in 1861 between the Northern States and the Southern States and when the Northern fleet blockaded the ports of the South, Lancashire found her cotton supplies cut off and soon every cotton town was experiencing terrible distress.

In January 1862 appeals were made in Burnley "to remember the poor operatives" who were working short time. In response, soup was provided at the Hall Inn and at Mount Pleasant Chapel, meal was distributed at the Temperance Hall in Keighley Green, and bread was given out at St. Paul's Church; for those who showed a spirit of independence and hatred of charity, soup was sold at the Public Hall in Elizabeth Street at 1½d. a quart, or a basin of soup along with ½-lb. of bread could be had for 2d. The Clergy, led by the Rev. A. T. Parker, opened a Clergy Relief Fund and asked for donations and regular monthly subscriptions; when the Fund closed in the following August, the Committee had spent over £330.

By March 1862 the Guardians of Burnley and Habergham Eaves were spending £200 a week on relief and by May that sum had increased to £220, i.e. four or five times the average weekly amount paid out during 1861. At that time it was estimated that out of the 12,000 operatives in the two townships, 3,000 were unemployed, and the remainder were working only three days a week. At the Parsonage Mill, a three-loomer earned only 6s. 6d. a week and a girl of 15 with two looms earned 2s. 1d. Since many of the distressed operatives refused to appeal to the Poor Law Guardians for relief for themselves and their families, the Mayor of Burnley took steps in July to form a Town Committee of Relief which distributed food and other necessities out of moneys subscribed by the more fortunate citizens of Burnley.

The Guardians and the Town Committee succeeded in their efforts to relieve the worst cases of distress though there is little doubt that many families were always in a state of semi-starvation. At first, enough money or food tickets were

given out to make the weekly income of a family equal to 1s. 6d. a head, but this sum was later raised to 1s. 9d. and finally to 2s. In addition to the grant of actual relief in money or food, sewing schools were opened in Keighley Green and in the Mechanics' where girls and women were employed at 1s. 9d. a week in making army shirts and other articles of clothing; an Industrial School for boys and men was started and here also there was a payment for attendance; day schools and evening schools were opened for all who wished to attend and many adults learned the art of reading and writing; the cost (2d. a week) of children attending the elementary schools was defrayed by the Guardians. Work for some of the operatives was found on the roads and on various municipal undertakings while others found employment on drainage schemes at Royle and at outlying farms in the Burnley area.

From October 1862 to January 1863 the distress was at its maximum and over 9,000 weavers were unemployed. The Burnley Advertiser wrote of "the miserable condition of our operatives," "the haggard looks and wretched appearance of those who may be met with at every corner, or wandering away in unwilling idleness," and "the painful story of the inside of the dwellings of these poor men, the wan and sorrowful aspect of the anxious wife and mother, the ragged and shoeless children, the terrible appearance of the table where not half enough of the coarsest and weakest food was placed, the diminished furniture and the empty drawers in the chest." It was reported that many collapsed from fatigue and exhaustion while waiting in long queues outside the Guardian's Relief Office in Curzon Street. Relief was distributed for the first six months by the Town Committee by means of Visitors who were appointed in each ward but afterwards relief offices were opened. The total sum spent on relief by the two organisations during the worst period of four months amounted to £800—£900 a week and in November alone 17,500 people were helped. Appeals for help were made and greater local efforts were called for; the Lancashire Committee for Relief, with which the Burnley Town Committee became affiliated, and the Lord Mayor of London's Relief Fund gave greater grants while even small villages and towns in the colonies sent their donations to Burnley. Articles of clothing, clogs, stockings, and blankets to the value of £1,000 were distributed and 400—500 gallons of soup were distributed daily at the soup kitchen at the Mechanics'.

After January 1863, cotton began to arrive from other sources and some Burnley manufacturers, including Dugdale's. Mark Kippax and George Slater, managed to obtain American cotton by chartering ships that were prepared to run the

blockade. Mills re-opened and, though most of them still worked short-time, the distress in Burnley gradually became less severe. The largest number ever relieved in one week by the Town Committee was 6,844 in the week November 21st—28th 1862; by May 2nd 1863 the same Committee had to relieve 4,000, i.e. about 800 families, but by September 5th there were only 100 families in need of help. The sewing and industrial schools were then closed and by February 1864 the Town Committee was helping only 214 persons or 30—40 families a week, while the Guardians were spending only £88 a week. The Town Committee ceased to meet regularly after May 5th 1864, though one or two Visitors continued for some months to give out relief provided by the Central Lancashire Committee.

Distress came once more at the end of 1864 when it was reported that trade was unsatisfactory and that it was again necessary for the Town Relief Committee to take up its work. On October 29th 23 mills were at a standstill, 28 working short time and only four were running full time; and 1,424 persons were seeking relief. A month later, the number on relief had increased to 2,203 while the Guardians spent four times the normal amount. Fortunately this second period of distress was not a prolonged one and the Town Committee was finally dissolved in June 1865.

The Cotton Famine caused suffering in Burnley that has rarely been equalled. Textile workers lacking food and clothing had to draw upon their scanty savings and £4,000 out of £10,000 were withdrawn from the Burnley Post Office Savings Bank, and £8,000 from the Burnley Savings Bank; the Burnley Building Society lost 356 members in three months at the end of 1862; and 13% of the rates could not be collected. Many manufacturers became bankrupt for, as they worked on the smallest possible margin of profit, they were unable to meet their liabilities when their mills were stopped for any length of time. Another important result of the inability to secure American cotton was the importation of Indian cotton, commonly known as "Surat." This cotton was unsatisfactory and operative spinners complained that they were not paid for the extra "turns" that were necessary, while weavers were constantly irritated by breaking threads so that steam jets had to be used to make the atmosphere in the mill more humid and suitable for weaving.

THE STRIKE OF 1878.

For some years after the Cotton Famine, trade was fairly prosperous and masters in 1873 agreed to recognise the Burnley List. Its rates did not last long for a depression which

first showed itself in 1875 compelled masters to consider a reduction. Some of them acted individually and trouble broke out at Watson's Mill in Daneshouse where the operatives refused to accept a 10% reduction. A crowd of 2,000 attacked the Old Hall Inn where a number of Stockport weavers were lodged and several persons were injured when the police arrived to restore order. On March 23rd 1878, the Masters' Association decided on a general reduction of 10% and when this had been rejected by the operatives at many meetings in Burnley and other towns, a strike was declared which was to begin on April 17th.

A few cases of hooting and stone-throwing occurred during the first two or three weeks but on May 13th some violence was shown by a large crowd in Standish Street which attempted to rescue prisoners going to the railway station on their way to Preston for trial. On May 14th masters and men met in Manchester to begin negotiations for a settlement and within a few hours of the opening of the meeting rumours reached Burnley and neighbouring towns that the strike was practically over. On the following day, large crowds assembled at 3-30 p.m. in the Market Place to hear Mr. Holmes (President of the Union) make the official declaration. So bitter was the disappointment of the operatives on learning that the negotiations had failed that, in spite of Mr. Holmes' appeal for a continuance of a peaceful strike, the crowd got out of hand and rioting began. The mob first marched to the Mechanics' where they hurled threats at members of the Exchange. Then in great disorder they proceeded to John Kay's mills in Rawlinson Street and Parliament Street and began to smash the windows; at 6-10 p.m. the Town Clerk, whose face was cut by a stone thrown at him, read out the Riot Act in Springfield Road, and, as the crowd refused to disperse, the police began to use batons to clear the streets and one or two persons were injured; at 8 p.m. the warehouse was set on fire but firemen were not allowed by the assembled crowds to approach it until at 9-30 p.m. some 70 soldiers made their appearance on the scene. At 10 p.m. the mob collected at Towneley Villa, the home of Mr. Kay, and, once more, windows were broken. Driven away from there, the mob proceeded to Westgate where Mr. J. H. Whitaker lived; the house was ransacked and a piano was brought into the street and smashed. Some arrests were made and peace was restored for the time. On the following day, May 16th, a crowd of 300 assembled in the morning at Kay's mills but rain drove them away; at 6 p.m. they re-assembled and marched to the Centre and again the Riot Act was read from a window of the Thorn Hotel; troops cleared the streets and, though an attempt was made to destroy Whittlefield Mill (Whitaker's), the crowds had little success

and were soon dispersed. On this last day of the trouble there were on duty in Burnley 87 cavalry, 302 infantry, 130 regular police (many from Manchester), and 140 special constables. Friday, May 17th was quiet though at Great Harwood the riots continued and soldiers had to fire on the crowds.

On May 25th a ballot was taken among all Lancashire weavers to decide whether to continue the strike. The figures showed a heavy majority in favour of continuation and in Burnley the result was 4,999 for and 392 against; but whatever the wish of the weavers the empty treasury at the Union Offices was more important since strike-pay could no longer be made. In the following week weavers at three or four mills went back to work with the 10% reduction and by June 15th all had accepted. Twenty four Burnley rioters, mostly aged 16 to 22, were charged at the Assizes. Three were sent to prison for 5 years, seven for 6 months, four for 3 months or under, and the remaining ten were discharged. Damage was done in Burnley to the extent of £2,000.

The strike had proved a victory for the manufacturers, and the listed prices, now showing by tacit agreement a 10% reduction, were honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Further reductions caused partial strikes at Daneshouse, Ashfield, Whittlefield, and Hill Top Mills, and before the end of 1879 all weavers' wages had been reduced by 20—25% on the original list; and once more soup kitchens and relief funds were started for the benefit of distressed families. Trade improved in 1880, wages began to advance and masters agreed to adopt a Burnley List on condition that it should vary according to the rise or fall in the Blackburn List. For some time a general peace reigned in the Burnley weaving industry, but in 1883 trade suffered a relapse, wage reductions were threatened, and a strike was contemplated. However, in 1883 a mass meeting of Burnley operatives agreed to accept a 5% reduction rather than join other towns in a strike. When trade improved in 1884 and Burnley masters refused to restore the cut in wages, a Burnley strike, which lasted a month, resulted in a victory for the workers and an agreement to adopt a Universal List for the Northern Counties. The new List was finally accepted by both sides in 1892 but wages were still very low. In that year a four-loomer averaged 19s. a week and his weekly budget of 3s. 6d. for rent, coal 1s. 4d., gas 6d., rates 4d., sick club 4d., union subscription 4d., school fees and junior club 1s. 1d. left only 12s. for food and clothing for his family. By the end of the century, wages had increased so that in 1902 a weaver averaged 5s. 6d. a loom for a 56 hour week. Moreover, working conditions had greatly improved

since the "slate" system and "driving" had been abolished and the old grievances about inaccurate measurement of cloth had been met.

Early in the 20th century an old complaint re-emerged in a new form when masters began to re-organise their labour power and introduce labour saving devices. At one mill a strike occurred because the manager relieved weavers of the necessity of fetching weft, carrying cloth to the warehouse, and sweeping and oiling looms but deducted 3d. a loom from the wages for such services; at another mill, a strike broke out on the introduction of an automatic shuttle-changing invention. A disturbance in August 1908 was due largely to internal political differences in the Union itself. A trade depression lasting over six months resulted in unemployment for 20,000 members and many of them, urged on by extremists, who disliked the cautious policy of the Union Committee, marched on the Workhouse, attempted to rush the Town Hall when the Council was in session and attacked the Weavers' Institute to insist on higher unemployment benefits than were permitted by the Union regulations. The last strike of great importance broke out in December 1911. It lasted for three weeks and was fought over the employment of non-unionists in mills; it was settled by the appointment of a Conciliation Board to consider all disputes.

THE WEAVERS' UNION.⁽¹⁾

The Burnley Branch of the East Lancashire Weavers' Union, which had been started in 1859, broke up soon after its formation. The reason is uncertain and, though rumour said the small balance in the funds had been embezzled, it was probably the fact that the Committee had taken over a room which they could not afford. On August 22nd 1870 at a meeting in the Co-operative Rooms the Branch was re-established and since that time has had an unbroken history. Some 2,300 members were soon enrolled and under their elected officials, Thos. Holden, President, John Whittam, Vice-President, J. T. Ingham, Sec., Thos. Whalen, Whitaker Ellis and David Holmes, the work of the Union made steady progress. A room was taken, "scrubbers and whitewashers" from members of the Society were engaged and paid to clean up the place, and office equipment was bought to the extent of one form, one chair, one table, one packet of paper, one quire of foolscap, and two packets of envelopes. Bye-laws were drawn up, subscriptions of 1d. a week were levied, and a burial fund was established.

In 1872 a room in Cuerden Street was hired but after two weeks the landlord was compelled by outside pressure to

1. Much information from Minute Books and Mr. R. Dickinson.

cancel the lease. The Union then secured the use of the Foresters' Frugality Lodge in Thomas Street and there the office equipment was increased by six chairs, two stools, a desk and four forms. Two years later a news-room was opened and provided three daily papers, four weekly papers, and the bi-weekly "Sporting Life"; draughts and dominoes were also available except on Sundays when they were "locked-up." A Committee resolution of September 1878 stated that all card playing must stop during "business hours." In 1875 the Committee decided "to buy a place of our own" and on June 1st an old building in Charlotte Street was bought at a public auction for £485. After some alterations it became known on November 22nd 1877 as "The Weavers' Institute."

For many years it was customary to hold an annual tea-party and dance. In 1872 "two knives to cut bread" were bought and in the following year beef at 10d. a lb., boiled ham at 9½d. a lb., 40 dozen bottles of ginger beer, and one box of oranges for 17s. made up part of the tea-party fare and later provided refreshments at the ball. Tickets cost 1s. a head for tea, with an extra 9d. for males and 6d. for females who wished to dance. Excursions to the seaside were also frequently arranged and one trip to Liverpool resulted in a profit of £4 15s. 0d. out of the sale of a thousand railway tickets.

The first aim of the new Society was to secure a standard "List" and until that had been won an interesting policy had to be adopted. A rather inflammatory broadsheet entitled "The Weaver's Catechism" was written by one of the members and issued by the Committee in order to rouse the operatives, while clear and logical letters were written to the newspapers for the benefit of the general public. A "Vigilance Committee" decided on the particular mill at which strike action should be taken since it was obvious that a subscription of 1d. a week from a limited membership was insufficient to meet claims for strike pay if a strike occurred simultaneously at all mills. At one mill a strike was maintained from February 1872 to October 1873 but it was far from successful because the many non-unionists continued to work. An "Agent" was appointed "to look after those places where people are timid and dare not come out" and the "Strike Committee" arranged shop-meetings, "round robins," and public demonstrations. The Union leaders were often victimised and grants had to be made out of the funds to set them up in other trades.

The acceptance by the masters of a Burnley Standard List in 1873 seemed to herald a new era in the history of the Burnley cotton trade. The Union organised a monster tea-party to celebrate the occasion, congratulations were given to

all officials who had negotiated the settlement, and the Committee passed a vote of thanks to those employers who had immediately accepted the new List. By May 1874 practically all mills were paying the new prices, only 416 looms out of 25,562 looms were idle, and the Union ordered all strikers to get to work. Hopes of a prolonged peace were killed when the depression in trade in 1875 were accompanied by numerous infringements of the List and at length brought on the strike of 1878. The officials of the Union condemned the disorders that accompanied the strike and did their best to prevent them, but they seemed to have had little control over the younger and less responsible sections of the weavers. During the strike the town was divided into districts over which "captains" were appointed to distribute relief (including tins of "essence of beef," partly provided by Mr. Altham), collect subscriptions and donations, and organise mass meetings. After the strike collapsed trouble continued at several mills and wages were further reduced. At last an agreement was reached on another Burnley List which was made the basis of the Universal List of 1892.

Since the troubles of 1878 had exhausted the funds of the Society, a new scale of contributions was introduced in 1879 which ranged from 4d. to 1d. a week with greater benefits for those paying on the higher scales. The benefits included weekly payments for unemployment caused by sickness, machinery breakdowns, dismissal, victimisation and official strikes; death gratuities to widows and dependents were covered by the higher contributions. The Committee was often disturbed by the number of unofficial strikes at individual mills and eventually resolved that no payment could be made to strikers who acted without official sanction. Similarly, cases of so-called "victimisation" were thoroughly examined, e.g. "Mr. X be allowed a week's victim-grant in consideration of the good work he has done for the Society but we do not consider him a victim inasmuch as he has given the master a chance to discharge him for drunkenness."

Though the enforcement of a standard rate of pay according to the List remained the main object of the Union, the grievances of operatives were thoroughly examined and, if genuine, the officials tried to get redress at the magistrates' court. Such cases were generally concerned with wrongful fines, infringement of the Truck Act, dismissal for bad work, sickness, or refusal to work overtime, but in most instances the verdict was in favour of the employers. However, at a case tried in Colne in 1891, the Judge remarked that the cases brought by the Burnley Weavers' Union were "benefit-actions which serve a good and useful purpose." A common complaint

among weavers was that the woven piece was inaccurately measured and that they therefore suffered a loss: trouble of this nature largely ceased after 1891 when employers were legally bound to fix on each warp a ticket showing all details, which were necessary to the calculation of the list price for weaving the piece. In 1890 the Union launched an attack on the "slate" system and "driving"; by 1897 the "slate" had been abolished and the power of overlookers had been much curtailed.

Among the more important leaders of the Burnley Weavers' Union in the earliest part of its history were David Holmes, Whitaker Ellis, an impassioned speaker, Moses Nutter, a concise exponent of labour policy and author of "The Weavers' Catechism," Thomas Whalen, Abram Edmondson, John Whittam, John Strutt, and Robert Pollard. Of these early enthusiasts probably the most important was Mr. David Holmes. He was the President of the Burnley Branch for 35 years, President of the Northern Counties Weavers' Amalgamation for 21 years, a textile representative on the Parliamentary Committee of the T.U.C. for 12 years, and was always a principal witness before Parliamentary Commissions on textiles. He was a founder of the Burnley Weavers' Union. At his death in 1906, it had a membership of 14,500, a new "Weavers' Institute," and a reserve fund of £24,000. As a weaver he was victimised in 1878 and for a time became a hawker, stabling his pony in the basement of the old Weavers' Institute. He was a Justice of the Peace, a member of the Borough Council for nine years, a member of the School Board for 14 years, and for a time served on the Board of Guardians. He was a Gladstonian Liberal in politics but he would never allow either the Committee or mass meetings of weavers to start discussions on political theories; the true function of the Union, he maintained, was to improve conditions in mills and maintain the prosperity of the textile trade. He was never sympathetic to the demands for an eight-hour day and the abolition of the half-time system in the cotton trade and, at one time, vigorously opposed the proposals, believing that increased costs of production in the face of foreign competition would inevitably bring unemployment. He held his convictions honestly and courageously even though a certain section threatened to revolt from his leadership. There is little doubt that Mr. Holmes' moderation and wisdom had the greatest possible influence in overcoming many of Burnley's labour problems.

The secretaries of the Society have been J. T. Ingham 1870-3, J. Wright, Thos. Lord 1873-7, Henry Proctor "who was submitted to an examination for the post" 1877-9, Robert Pollard



The Centre (approx. 1875).

(Burnley Centre, Market Place, from early 1800 to 1866. "Gaumless" lit by gas, with a "Brays" burner. Photograph taken from Bull Hotel looking towards Church Street). — Note pattern of first "Gaumless."

1879-80 (later President 1906-12), John Strickland 1880-4 who was the first paid secretary at a salary of £80 a year from 1884 to 1891, Mason Moorhouse 1891-3, Fred Thomas 1893-1912, James Hindle 1912-41, and Robinson Graham 1941-47. The present (1950) secretary is Mr. Harold Dickinson.

By 1890 the Burnley Weavers' Union had established itself as a permanent factor in the local cotton industry. Its funds and membership were in a very satisfactory condition and therefore the Committee began to consider the erection of a building which should be worthy of the important status of the Society. Accordingly in 1894 tenders for the demolition of the existing building and for the erection and furnishing of a larger building on the same site were invited. Suitable tenders were accepted in August 1894, work was immediately begun and, before the end of the year, the foundation stones were laid. Some delay was then occasioned by one or two property owners in Whittam Street who claimed compensation for "obstruction to their light." Eventually on August 3rd 1896 the present "Weavers Institute" was opened by Lady Dilke who was supported by William Abrahams, M.P. for Rhondda Valley, and David Holmes, the President; a tea-party at Brunswick School preceded the opening and Lady Dilke was presented with a small loom (cost 25s.) and an illuminated address in book form.

During the 20th century the Weavers' Union has changed its character in one important respect. It has already been stated that Mr. David Holmes, a Radical and an admirer of Mr. Gladstone, would not allow political theories to influence the industrial policy of the Union and in this attitude he was supported by John Strickland, the Secretary, and the majority of his Committee. The position became critical because the Socialists who formed the Burnley Branch of the Social Democratic Federation, were anxious to win over the important Weavers' Union. The first open quarrel occurred in 1894 when several Socialist operatives objected to the right of the Committee to elect representatives to the T.U.C. Two years later it seemed that the internal dispute might disrupt the whole Society, particularly when a meeting was held in the S.D.F. rooms in the St. James' Hall to consider the formation of "The New Textile Operatives' Society (Weavers' Department)." That Society was established but did not last long and for some years there was an uneasy peace with only an occasional outburst. Eventually, as time passed and the old "Labour" officials died or changed their views, the influence of the Socialist section began to increase and at last the control of the Union passed into their hands.

Compared with the period 1870-90 when the Union was fighting for full recognition, the last fifty years have been calm. The sources that once gave rise to untold hardships no longer exist and a review of newspaper reports shows that the main cause of trouble after 1900 was "bad cotton"; in such cases, a solution of the difficulty was usually found at a meeting of the Union officials and the employer concerned. Two disputes, however should be mentioned. In November 1911 the Union put forward a demand for a 5% increase in wages and this soon became linked with a demand that all weavers must belong to a Union. On December 22nd 1911 strikes at individual mills to compel masters to dismiss non-unionists was followed on December 26th by a lock-out of those weavers who refused to work with them. On January 13th 1912 only eight mills and 1,700 operatives were working in Burnley. The dispute was settled on January 20th and a Conciliation Board was set up to deal with all future quarrels. The second trouble, which arose in the early 1930's, was due to the introduction by the masters of the principle of "more looms to a weaver" during a very severe period of bad trade when Burnley's traditional "sorts," were being monopolised by the Japanese, whose costs of production were far less than those of Burnley manufacturers. Since 1945 the main problem confronting the cotton trade, both from a national and a Lancashire point of view, has been how to increase output, keep costs at a low figure, and maintain and improve the standard of living among weavers. To solve the problem, vigorous efforts have been made by the Union and the masters to increase the labour-force in the mills; a new wage structure, still in the experimental stage, has been introduced; and weavers have abandoned to a very marked extent their old hostility to labour-saving devices, time-efficiency tests, automatic looms, and the shift system. At the same time, the policy of the Union is still directed towards the protection of weavers and the improvement of conditions under which they work.

THE MINERS.

The earliest Association among the miners of this district was "The Miners' Sick and Burial Society" which was established in 1846; it was in existence in November 1859 when 64 of its members attended a dinner at the Clock Face. The "Wigan Union" had a Branch in Burnley in 1860 when it supported a strike of 100 colliers at a Cliviger pit for an advance of 1s. on every 25 loads and aided and abetted another strike at Padiham where six delegates to a Trade Union meeting had been dismissed. The Padiham strike was settled by the mediation of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth but the Cliviger

pits refused to employ trade-union men. Strike pay of 7s. a week was paid but after ten months the men submitted and the Burnley Branch of the Wigan Union collapsed.

In June 1866 at a meeting on the Church Ground, Fulfilledge, speakers advocated "a local Union to watch their interests and a Miners' Club for sick relief." The "Burnley Miners' Association" was formed and Mr. Wm. Baxendale of Temple Street was appointed Secretary. On January 1st 1867 a meeting was held in the Market Tavern to discuss their claim to a rise in wages because coal prices had been increased by 10%; however, only the miners at Gannow seem to have obtained an increase. Three months later, the first Annual Tea-party was held at the Co-operative Rooms and a discussion took place about the pending dispute at Cliviger concerning the rates of pay for filling new tubs. During the strike, disturbances took place, particularly when an attempt was made to eject the strikers from the Company's cottages in order that the strike breakers might be accommodated. Early in 1868 the strike breakers left the district, workers went back when the Union funds were exhausted, and once more the local Miners' Association was dissolved.

Between 1867 and 1872 the price of coal and therefore the rates of pay fell by 25%. When coal prices began to rise in 1872, the miners decided to form "The Burnley Branch of the Amalgamated Miners' Association" and each pit sent deputations to the colliery owner to ask for an advance. At most pits higher wages were paid but at Bank Hall each member of the deputation was individually dismissed and a strike at that pit was begun. Coal prices continued to rise and the Branch, now 250 strong, put forward another claim for a general increase. The dispute became more complicated because the miners were divided on the question of payment by weight or payment by measure and could not decide upon what issues a possible strike should be fought. Membership however increased and soon reached 700; this number rose when miners from Church joined the Branch so that the "Burnley and Church Branch" came into existence. In July 1873, the local colliery owners provided an issue for the miners by stating that in future only non-union men would be employed. A strike was declared and the mines were almost brought to a standstill by the withdrawal of 1,200 men and boys to whom strike pay of 12s. 6d. to 16s. a week with 1s. 3d. for each child in a family was regularly paid. The strike spread to Padiham and by November 1873 the local mills began to close through lack of coal. The owners then brought into Burnley some 400 miners and their families from Devon and Cornwall and offered them a two years' contract at 7s. a day. The Cornish miners were

at first housed in an iron building but later they were accommodated in cottages at Brunshaw and at Little Cornwall, near the Griffin Inn. When the Union leaders tried to persuade the strike-breakers to return home, the Union leaders were charged with "conspiracy" but though they were found guilty, no fines were imposed.

By May 1874 it became obvious that the strike was failing. Many Burnley colliers had left the town, others had joined the army or entered other industries, some had returned to the mines and the strike-breakers still remained. In July 1874, the Amalgamated Association, disturbed by the drain on its finances and the apparent hopeless nature of the struggle, offered to pay the expenses of any striker willing to remove from Burnley but stated that strike-pay would cease. In August 1874, after holding out for more than twelve months, the miners submitted; the strike had cost the Association over £20,000 and the "Burnley and Church Branch" was dissolved.

Before the end of 1874, there was a surplus of labour, wages were reduced by 15%, and though pits worked only half-time, many miners were prosecuted for absenteeism. When a further reduction of 10% was announced in August 1875, the miners assembled in the Cattle Market and were addressed by a Cornishman who had come to Burnley in 1873. He complained that the owners had broken the contract they had made, but all the miners could do was "to ask the owners to receive deputations" Little satisfaction was derived from the interviews.

For some years after 1875 selling prices and wages regularly rose and fell but in 1888 they reached such a low level that a skilled miner working full time at one of the Towneley pits could earn only 28s. a week. The colliers then turned once more to the principles of trade unionism and at a meeting in the Mechanics' in December 1888 decided to form the "Burnley Branch of the Lancashire Miners' Federation." Mr. McAllister was the first President of the Branch and he was succeeded by Mr. Kilbride; Mr. S. Woods, President of the Federation and later the "Miners' M.P." spent a great deal of time in Burnley and within a few months there were over 1,000 members. In January 1889 a demand for 10% increase was granted, and, thus encouraged, the Branch put forward in April other claims including a further 10% advance, appointment of checkweighmen, abolition of royalties, an eight hour day, a five day working week, and the recognition of the Union. At the Beehole colliery, miners came out on strike for 7½ foot roads instead of 6 foot, in order that production and therefore wages might be increased.

At the Burnley collieries, the Exors. of John Hargreaves, through their agent, Mr. R. Handsley, recognised the Miners' Federation and negotiated with the local representatives about payment by weight; the owners of the Towneley collieries were not so helpful, but granted a 5% increase provided that payment by measure was retained; further advances by both companies to bring the wages to 30% above the 1888 level settled the disputes for a time.

About 1892 local miners first began to adopt a policy of restricting output in order to stabilize wages and prices and maintain full employment "in overcrowded mines." A strike at Clifton, supported by several other pits, occurred because one miner refused to keep to his stint; after a few weeks, the strike collapsed. A much more serious affair was the national coal strike of 1893 when all mines in the country were closed to prevent a reduction in wages. No disturbances occurred in Burnley because the owners made no attempt to bring in strike-breakers but there was a great deal of distress during the six months of the strike. Many mills stopped, houses were short of fuel, and relief funds were opened. To relieve the shortage and earn a little money, many miners worked "out-crops" whenever possible, though some of them were injured, often fatally, by falls of roof.

The coal industry remained in a disturbed state and a reduction of 10% in wages in 1894 did not help the position. A strike at Towneley in 1898 lasted 15 weeks and the dispute over payment for "ribbing" was settled by a compromise. Two years later a strike of five or six weeks at Cheapside Pit was caused by the drawers who desired payment by piece rates. A further reduction of 5% occurred in 1903, but trade improved so much that the cuts were restored in 1905 and wages in 1906 were 50% above the 1888 level. Another strike which lasted 17 weeks broke out in October 1910; this dispute was fought out on the question of payment for "prop-drawing" and once more a strike was ended by a compromise. As part of the coalminers' national demand for a minimum wage, the Burnley miners left work on February 17th 1912 and were on strike for about four weeks; the principle of a national minimum wage was not conceded but the miners secured an "area" minimum wage; in Burnley the minimum wage under the new agreement seems to have been about 7s. a day.

THE CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.⁽²⁾

An outline of the history of a smaller Burnley Trade Union shows the same struggle for survival as was experienced by larger and more powerful Societies. Though the General Union of Carpenters and Joiners had been established as early

2. Much information from Minute Book, loaned by Miss Lancaster.

as 1827, it was not until 1848 that a Burnley Branch was formed. For an unknown reason, that Branch collapsed within a very short time but was re-established in 1850 and continued until 1878. Meetings were usually held in the Hall Inn and at times in the Albion Inn and the St. Leger; subscriptions, which varied from 12s. to 19s. 6d. a year according to the needs of the Branch, were supplemented by frequent levies to relieve a member or support a strike in another town. Officials were appointed for six months and, at first, only the Secretary received a salary (30s. a year). The annual dinner "to which any member may bring his wife or partner, if he chooses, provided he pays their expenses for their dinner" was, in the words of the minute-book "carried out with great eclat." Due decorum was always observed at Lodge meetings and fines were imposed on any member for swearing, wearing his hat or cap at any meeting, or failing to stand when asking a question or making a speech. The "seat of government of the General Union," which was at Nottingham, communicated to all local secretaries information about the proposed activities of each Branch and asked for an expression of views. Hence the Burnley Branch recorded the results of their discussions on the questions submitted to them by passing such resolutions as "Our sanction is given to the Wigan Branch for a new privilege—a tea half-hour" and "Our sanction is given to the Nottingham officers to strike for an advance of wages if machinery is introduced." On the other hand, the Burnley members were bitterly disappointed when the delegates at a General Council meeting condemned "as contrary to the will of the Union" a partial strike that had begun in Burnley against three masters who employed too many apprentices. Branch members who were unemployed were granted 5s. a week during October to March and for the other six months "tramping cards" were given to enable them to seek work in other towns and entitled them to the cost of lodgings, 1½d. for each mile travelled, and 2s. on Sunday morning.

The largest employers of the time were Thomas Chaffer, Yorkshire Street; William Parker, Hammerton Street; Thomas Hird, Mount Pleasant; the Robinsons, Keighley Green and Manchester Road, and George Atwood. The earliest recorded dispute occurred in 1852 when the men demanded that work should stop at 4 instead of 5 o'clock on Saturday afternoons; fear of victimisation and the large number of non-unionists compelled the Branch to withdraw its demand. In the following year, the Branch asked the masters to receive a deputation at the Canal Tavern to discuss the claim that each master should be limited to three apprentices, or four, if one of them happened to be the son of a joiner. Only one employer attended the meeting, two others accepted the wishes

of the men and a strike was therefore declared against the three masters who would not make any changes. One operative was fined 25s. for not "turning out" and strikers were paid £2 "out of the Box." The strike soon collapsed partly because the masters carried on with non-union labour and partly because other Branches, upon whose financial aid the local Branch relied, refused to sanction the strike. The real trouble seems to have been that Burnley took direct action without first receiving the sanction of other Branches. So bitter was the feeling that Burnley lodged a protest at the next annual meeting of the General Union and refused to appoint delegates.

In 1861 the local Society was completely re-organised. A sick-club was started but no member was allowed to join unless he produced a medical certificate of good health; "tramping cards" were abolished and unemployment pay was paid throughout the year; "shop-rules" were drawn up and shop-stewards were appointed to see that they were observed, e.g. no working on Good Friday and three days at Christmas; no working to make up lost time; no work before 7 o'clock on Monday mornings; and no acceptance of a lower rate of pay than that laid down by the Union. The officials were elected for twelve months and were paid as follows:— President, £1; Secretary, £4; Treasurer, 35s.; Sick Steward, 15s.; Tyler, £1; Host, £1.

In 1862 the question of the Saturday half-holiday was revived but action was postponed because of bad trade. Instead, the Branch began to concentrate on increasing the membership and by successful strikes at individual workshops were able to compel many non-society men to join the Union. Perhaps believing that the Branch was strong enough to force an issue, a demand was made in 1869 that masters should reduce the 55 hour week by five hours; the masters refused the demand as being "injurious to trade" and gave notice that a wage reduction of 2s. for a working week of 55 hours would take effect in six months' time. Much perturbed by the turn of events, the Branch decided to postpone action until it was seen what success attended a strike in Blackburn and Darwen, then being fought for the same claims. In Burnley the men had to accept the terms of the employers and there was naturally a great deal of resentment, particularly as several new members of the Society had "gone bad," evidently disappointed at the apparent weakness of the Union. Once again, in 1872, matters reached a climax and the Branch put forward a demand for an advance of 2s. a week and a 54 hour week; after lengthy arguments, threats of strikes and lock-outs, the men agreed in July 1873 to withdraw their demand for shorter hours and the masters conceded the advance in wages. In the following year, the

masters also agreed to the 54 hour week. The Lodge voted monetary rewards to those who had negotiated the settlement, which represented their first real victory. In spite of the agreement, there was still dissatisfaction and therefore in 1875 other proposals were made by the Branch. At that time the wage was 30s. for a 54 hour week, i.e. $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour, and the men asked for 30s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. for a 49 hour week, i.e. $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour; a settlement was reached without a strike on the basis of 30s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. for a 52 hour week, i.e. $7\frac{1}{4}$ d. per hour.

Within a year or two after the settlement of 1875 the Burnley Branch of the General Union came to an end, since all building was stopped and all workshops were closed down during the period of bad trade and disturbances in the textile industry of 1875-9. In February 1877 the Branch had a "balance in hand" of nearly £300 but large payments for "burnt tools" in the following month reduced this amount to £214. The Branch soon expended its funds in paying unemployment relief to its members.

Among the early stalwarts of the Burnley Branch should be mentioned S. Torkington (Secretary for 12 years). Nathan de Maine, J. Hastwell, H. Holland, J. Watson, T. Tuart. and Cornelius Mercer.

Meanwhile in 1860 the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners had come into existence, and though the General Union was quite strong in Burnley, an attempt was made at a meeting in the White Lion on March 13th 1869 to start a Burnley Branch of the new Society. That attempt was unsuccessful but an opportunity to establish it came on the collapse of the Branch of the General Union, for conditions soon became almost chaotic with neither recognised standard rates of pay nor fixed working hours. In 1885 the Amalgamated Society established its Burnley Branch and within two years with a membership of only 42 it had drawn up shop rules and had come to a satisfactory arrangement with masters on rates of pay and hours. Its officials were J. Myers, President; B. Halstead, Vice-president; Messrs. Bolland, Farrell, Roberts. and Mercer. The unfortunate history of the General Union however militated against any show of enthusiasm for the new Branch and nine years after its foundation it was reported that "the Burnley Branch is not progressing." The Amalgamated Society is now merged in the Society of Woodworkers.

CHAPTER VIII.

Local Politics.

Burnley people have always attached considerable importance to politics and the trend of national legislation, but at no time has a greater interest been shown than in the last hundred years. In 1850 Burnley was part of the Northern Division of Lancashire which returned two Members of Parliament. Such a position was unsatisfactory for a town of 20,000, and hopes ran high that Burnley would soon become a Parliamentary Borough returning its own Member. Many political meetings were held at the time, e.g., in February, 1852, a reform meeting held in Salem Chapel under the chairmanship of Mr. Lord Massey accepted Lord Russell's Parliamentary Reform Proposals but considered them inadequate; in April, 1852, a Burnley petition, 77 feet in length and signed by 2,744 ratepayers, was sent to Parliament asking for the town's enfranchisement; in May, 1852, the Burnley Mechanics' sent a petition requesting the repeal of the paper duty, the stamp duty on newspapers, and the advertisement tax.

Local reformers were delighted when Russell's Reform Bill of 1854 included Burnley in the list of proposed Parliamentary Boroughs and they were equally disappointed when the Bill did not pass the House of Commons. When Disraeli, the Conservative leader, took up the cause of Parliamentary Reform, a Burnley meeting, held in December, 1858, expressed the hope that the town with its neighbours would obtain two Members of Parliament. Expectations were again not realised and at a later meeting in the Mechanics', Disraeli's "Fancy Franchise" Bill was condemned as entirely unsatisfactory. The cause of Parliamentary Reform was revived with great vigour in 1865 and in February, 1866, a Burnley Reform Association was formed "for the advancement of political and social economy and retrenchment in local and imperial taxation." The Society met in the Co-operative Room and among its leaders were Wm. Lomas, chairman, S. Kay, secretary, J. Kay, Richard Shaw (later M.P.), T. T. Wilkinson, Lord Massey, John Barnes, R. C. Sutcliffe, Dr. Coultate, Captain Creeke, and Andrew Ogle. Its first act was to send a petition to Lord Russell asking for the reform of Parliament; the petition was 18 yards long, nearly 6 lbs. in weight, and signed by 4,507 ratepayers. Russell's scheme was rejected by the Commons but in 1867 Disraeli was able to secure the passage of the Parliamentary Reform Act under which Burnley became a Parliamentary Borough returning one Member of Parliament.

Early in 1868 increasing activity was shown by both Liberals and Tories in preparation for the coming election. A town's meeting, summoned by the Liberal Mayor, sent a petition to Mr. Gladstone urging the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church, an action which it was hoped, would stop the spread of Fenianism. The Tories retaliated a week later by forming the Burnley Constitutional Club to defend the Constitution and the Church. The Liberal Committee included all the founders of the Reform Club together with J. H. Scott, Dr. Dean, Dr. Brumwell, T. Nowell, Mark Kippax and the agent, Joshua Rawlinson; they nominated as their candidate Richard Shaw, solicitor, of Holme Lodge. Mr. Shaw was a member of a very old Burnley family which had generally, though not always, shown sympathy with the movement for political and social freedom; in general, he could rely on the support of the workers in the textile trades and on the non-conformists. The Tory Committee of J. E. Hargreaves, George Slater, John Folds, John Heelis, John Butterworth, William Milner Grant, John Greenwood, Thos. Dugdale, James Fishwick, Dr. Smirthwaite, Dr. Butler (of the Grammar School), and Canon Parker, with Robert Handsley as secretary, nominated General Scarlett of Bank Hall as their candidate for Parliamentary honours. The General had represented Guildford in Parliament 1837-41 but had taken little part in its deliberations: he could however rely on the support of the Church and the miners of Hargreaves Colliery Co. of which he was a director; moreover, his bravery in the Crimean War had made him almost a national hero.

Nomination day was fixed for November 16th and excitement began in June when Mr. Shaw's address was published. In September the electoral lists were reviewed and some 300 names were struck out which had been inserted, so it was alleged, while the books had been deposited at Dugdales' in Lowerhouse. This led to bitter attacks, and, as nomination day approached, disorders broke out; posters were torn down or defaced, windows were broken, and Pentridge Mill, owned by Mr. Lomas, the Mayor, was attacked; fighting between rival gangs frequently occurred, and cries of "Church and Shorey" disturbed the Liberal meetings. On the other hand, bitter accusations were made against the General of keeping up the price of coal, preventing the establishment of a town cemetery opposite Bank Hall, and even of being the son of a judge who had passed sentence on several Chartists. Nor was the tension lessened when the Liberal agent made a canvass of the 5,545 voters and declared that 3,298 had promised to vote for Mr. Shaw and that a further 817 had "not fully promised."

On November 16th a crowd of over 12,000 assembled in the Cattle Market to decide the issue by show of hands. There was a great array of banners and party colours, and the police, some of whom were armed with swords, feared an anxious time. On the platform, amid much confusion and insulting language from the crowd, the Mayor heard the nominations proposed and seconded, listened with difficulty to one or two speeches in support, and then called for a show of hands, first for Mr. Shaw and afterwards for General Scarlett. It was so difficult to decide which side had the majority that a second show of hands was requested which, to the Mayor at least, seemed to be in favour of Mr. Shaw. The Liberal candidate was therefore declared elected but the Tories demanded a poll. This was held on the following day, but as voting was not secret and employers could watch how employees voted, there was a great deal of intimidation, and, it was alleged, of buying votes at a price that varied from 2s. 6d. to 10s. The final results were announced on Nov. 18th—Shaw 2620, Scarlett 2238.

The political fever continued for some time after the election. The Reform Club sent petitions to the Prime Minister urging him to press on with his programme of "Dis-establishment" and the "Free Breakfast Table"; the Burnley Working Men's Constitutional Club, inaugurated in the Church Institute by a tea-party at which 13,000 were present, held a demonstration in which 10,000 marched in procession to Bank Hall, presented the General with two vases valued at £300, and declared their loyalty to the Conservative cause. Eighteen months later, the General gave £1,000 to establish a Conservative Sick and Burial Club. More clubs were later formed to keep up political enthusiasm. The Burnley Reform Club, which had been accustomed to meet in the Co-operative Room, took over Nelson House in 1877 and there increased in numbers and influence. Other Liberal Clubs with reading rooms, etc., were established—at Gannow 1870, Burnley Lane 1871 (originally over Dodgeon's smithy at the old toll-bar and transferred 1877 to the old Baptist Chapel in Hebrew Road), Fulfilledge 1877, Elmwood Street, Accrington Road 1877; "Cronkshaw's" remained for many years a meeting place for the Liberal party. The Constitutional Association met at the Church Institute until 1883 when it took over No. 12 St. James's Street; the membership fee was 6s. a year. Other Conservative clubs were Lane Head 1875, Oxford Road 1877, Wood Top 1877, St. Andrew's 1889 (held in Pheasantford Street until 1892 when the present building was erected), and Burnley Wood 1891. In 1887 the organisation of the Primrose League was introduced into Burnley and amidst great enthusiasm four

"Habitations" were established:— St. Peter's, Bankhouse, Trinity, and Gannow: more would have been founded had the rules of the League allowed.

The first ministry of Gladstone ended on January 26th 1874 and the Burnley election for the next Parliament was fixed to take place on the 31st. The Liberals put forward the Mr. Shaw, the retiring Member, as their candidate, but the Conservatives, being unprepared for the sudden dissolution of Parliament, had to make a hurried decision to put forward Mr. W. A. Lindsay of South Kensington. Under the Ballot Act of 1872, voting in this and all future elections was secret so that there was neither intimidation nor bribery at the election. The result of the election was a second victory for the Burnley Liberals, though there was great indignation that the Tories had used cabs to convey the voters to the polling booths. Mr. Shaw died in 1876 and for the ensuing bye-election the Radicals nominated Mr. Peter Rylands, an iron master of Warrington. He was successful not only in the 1876 election against Mr. Lindsay but also in 1880 against Lord Edmund Talbot.

The Disraeli Ministry of 1874-80 passed several reforms of importance but in its foreign policy followed the principles laid down by the Whig statesman, Lord Palmerston. This was the period of the "Bulgarian Atrocities," committed by the Turks on their subject Christian people as part of a plan to crush the rising spirit of nationalism in the Balkans. Gladstone, the leader of the Government Opposition, would have declared war on the "unspeakable Turk" to save the Bulgars, but Disraeli, the Prime Minister, and the Queen preferred to see a strong Turkish Empire which might serve as a buffer to Russian designs in the Levant. The Liberals in Burnley were therefore faced with the difficult problem of deciding whether to remain loyal to their great leader, or patiently accept the Conservative policy. A town's meeting was held at which the Liberals voted with their political opponents "to support a neutral policy." Records are silent about the local attitude to the question when Russia declared war on Turkey, nor is it known how the Treaty of Berlin, that "Peace with Honour" was received in Burnley.

In the election of November 1885, the Liberal candidate, Mr. Peter Rylands, was again returned to Westminster, but trouble soon arose when Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule Bill which proposed to create an Irish Parliament that should be largely independent of the English Parliament. During the debates, Mr. Rylands voiced his opposition to the proposals, and eventually with many of his Liberal colleagues

voted against the Irish policy of his leader. The Government was defeated and resigned and Parliament was dissolved. At the Liberal meeting, held to decide upon a candidate for the ensuing election, only 33 out of 244 present voted for Mr. Rylands. The majority thereupon nominated Mr. Alderman James Greenwood of Cumberland Place, Burnley as the Liberal candidate; the minority adopted Mr. Rylands as a "Liberal-Unionist," i.e. a Liberal who believed that the union between England and Ireland should remain. The Conservatives supported Mr. Rylands and he was returned on July 10th 1886 by the narrow majority of 43.

Mr. Peter Rylands died in 1887. He had represented Burnley as a Liberal for six years and as a Liberal-Unionist for one year and during that time won and retained great popularity in the town for his unstinted support of all worthy causes, honesty of purpose, and a fixed determination to maintain those principles he believed to be morally sound. For the bye-election that followed the death of Mr. Rylands, the Liberals nominated Mr. John Slagg, a Manchester merchant, who, as Chairman of the National Reform Union, was a keen supporter of the principles of the "Manchester School." The Conservatives adopted Mr. J. O. S. Thursby, son of Colonel Thursby and grandson of the Rev. Wm. Thursby who had married the elder daughter of Col. Hargreaves of Ormerod House; the younger daughter married General Scarlett. The Thursbys lived at Ormerod, owned the Burnley Collieries, and had always been exceptionally generous to the Church and to Burnley, giving land and money to establish new churches, the Victoria Hospital, and many relief schemes. Mr. Thursby had already contested the Clitheroe Division and with Canon Parker had founded the Primrose League Habitations in Burnley, so that with the advantage of having a local candidate of such influence and experience, the Conservatives had great hopes of victory. Mr. Slagg was however returned with a majority of 545, a result which was celebrated by a Liberal excursion to Hawarden, the home of Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Slagg retired through ill-health in 1889 and as the Conservative preparations for a bye-election were incomplete, the new Liberal candidate, Mr. Jabez Spencer Balfour, was returned unopposed. The new Member for Burnley was genial, very wealthy, a company promoter, and showed such brilliance in financial affairs that he seemed destined for Government office; in Burnley he was extremely popular, opened bazaars, and presented competition cups to many sporting clubs. Unfortunately, within six months of his election, the Financial Times severely criticised the London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Assurance Company of which Mr. Balfour was the

chairman, and this action brought on doubts about the conduct of affairs in other companies with which he was closely associated. In spite of the rumours, the Burnley Liberals once more nominated Mr. Balfour as their candidate for the 1892 general election; the Conservatives nominated Mr. Edwin Lawrence. The Conservative candidate had everything that could appeal to the electorate; he had been educated at University College, London (a Whig foundation), was a school-mate of Joseph Chamberlain, occupied the treasurership of the Society of Arts (which made a large grant to the Mechanics'), and was a member of a family that shared the control and profits of the family business with the workpeople. He was supported by the Liberal-Unionists, who had taken over as club-room the "Blue Clock Buildings," adjacent to the Thorn Inn and so-called because the clock had a blue dial. Mr. Balfour won the election in July 1892, but in the following August, his London and General Bank failed and his seventeen other companies found themselves in great difficulties. In November, the Burnley Member applied for the Chiltern Hundreds: he then fled to South America, and on his return was sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment. It should however be mentioned that some of Mr. Balfour's schemes, e.g. the building of Hotel Cecil were eminently successful. Great consternation prevailed in Burnley, but in spite of this disaster, the bye-election resulted in the return of the Liberal candidate, the Hon. Philip Stanhope, over his Conservative opponent, Mr. W. A. Lindsay, who had previously contested Burnley in 1874 and 1876.

Meanwhile the movement that was to result in the formation of the local Labour and Socialist parties was gaining strength. In 1882 Mr. H. Broadhurst, an Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, visited Burnley and in his speech advocated the establishment of a Council representing all local Trade Unions. The advice was followed and in December 1882 the Burnley and District United Trades' Council came into being at a meeting at the Sun Inn, Bridge Street. At the regular meetings in the Working Men's Club, Keighley Green, the Council discussed the best means to protect the interests of workers, fought successfully for an increase in the number of fixed holidays, and urged the establishment of a Burnley Free Library, the abolition of the smoke nuisance, and the administration of the Food and Drugs Act; in national policy it supported the payment of Members of Parliament and the limitation of the number of destitute immigrants into England. In 1882 only 18 Trade Unions sent representatives to the Council but by 1894, 37 trades were taking part in the movement. Among the earliest leaders were David Holmes, John Strutt, John Strickland, J. Battle, T. Etherington, J. Leeming, T. Roche and J. Kilbride.

At first, political theories were not welcomed as topics of discussion in the meetings of either the Trade Unions or the Trades Council. In fact, Mr. Holmes and his Committee repeatedly insisted that the Weavers' Union was a labour organisation to watch the interests of weavers and not a political club to propagate new doctrines of State control of industry. Mr. Holmes himself represented Daneshouse on the Borough Council for nine years as a Radical; Mr. Strickland, Secretary of the Weavers' Union 1880-91, was a founder-member of the Burnley Reform Club (Nelson House); among the miners, Mr. S. Woods, their M.P., was secretary to a Radical Society. It is obvious that the early leaders of Burnley Trade Unions believed that betterment in social conditions would come about by Radical legislation. The Trades Council however did support the candidature of their leaders for membership of the Board of Guardians and the School Board, but they were careful to instruct their representatives on the Board how to vote on important topics.

The rise of a Socialist party in Burnley betokened a conflict with the Radical-Labour leaders of the Trade Unions and the Trades Council. Already in 1890 Mr. Holmes and Mr. Birtwistle, Secretary of the Weavers' Amalgamation, had withdrawn from the annual meeting of the Trade Union Congress because it had voted that the principle of an eight hours' day should apply to all industries, irrespective of conditions; they are said to have complained that the meeting was dominated by Socialists who did not represent the majority of the workers. When therefore a branch of the Social Democratic Federation was founded about 1890 in Burnley to propagate the theories of Karl Marx, friction between Socialists and Trade Union leaders was inevitable. The S.D.F. took rooms in St. James' Hall and arranged for prominent lecturers to visit the town; in 1891 Robert Blatchford, "Numquam" of the *Clarion*, gave three lectures on "Discontent," "Palliatives," and "Revolution," and he was followed by H. W. Hobart of the London Working Men's Association; in 1892 Keir Hardie lectured in Brunswick on Socialist theories. Open air meetings were regularly held and three lectures were given in St. James' Hall each Saturday and Sunday. The first Socialist victory at the Municipal elections occurred in 1893 when John Tempest was returned for Burnley Wood; he advocated the employment of direct labour on municipal schemes.

Meanwhile the Radical-Labour party was not idle. A Non-Socialist Club was opened in 1894 in Union Street and a Trades Council demonstration was held on May 5th 1894 at which J. R. Clynes spoke. A wordy warfare broke out the same year when George Lansbury at a Burnley meeting

attacked the Labour Electoral Assembly, a national organisation supported by all Radical-Liberals; this was followed by an attack made in a Town Council meeting by Mr. Holmes on the policy of Mr. Tempest. In the Weavers' Union, Socialist members attacked the undemocratic principle of allowing the Committee to appoint representatives to the Trade Union Congress, but they were unable to carry their protest further. At the municipal elections of 1894, two representatives of the Trades Council were successful but six Socialists were defeated. In the same year, G. B. Shaw visited Burnley and lectured on "Social Democracy."

A great impetus was given to the Socialist cause⁽¹⁾ in Burnley by the visits of Henry Hyndman, the founder and leader of the Social Democratic Federation. He was very wealthy, educated at Eton and Cambridge, rather proud and dominant and resented criticism; he always attended meetings in top-hat and frock coat. His eloquence and humour, energy and self-sacrifice, sterling character and hatred of meanness soon won over many Burnley operatives, who could overlook his foibles. His first visit to Burnley occurred in 1894 when he lectured on "Capitalism" and "Poor Laws"; possibly as a result of this visit, a new Socialist Club was opened in Hebrew Road. In the following year, Dan Irving came to Burnley to organise the S.D.F. more thoroughly and to his work Socialism in Burnley will always be indebted. He arranged the first Socialist demonstration in Burnley on May 1st 1895 and with him on this occasion were associated Joseph Wiggins, John Tamlyn, John Moore, J. Ratcliffe and J. Simpson; he also persuaded a daughter of Karl Marx to speak to a Burnley audience.

But in spite of the enthusiastic work of the S.D.F., the Parliamentary elections of 1895 resulted in the return of the Liberal, the Hon. Philip Stanhope, with a majority of 321 over Mr. W. A. Lindsay the Conservative candidate; Mr. Hyndman was at the bottom of the poll. Similarly in the municipal elections, seven conservatives and five Radicals were returned and no Socialists were successful.

In 1896 relations between the Radical and Socialist members of the Weavers' Union became so strained that the Socialists attempted to found "The New Textile Operatives' Union (Weaving Department)" with headquarters in St. James' Hall. Fortunately for the unity among weavers the new Union did not long survive. Another event of importance in the history of Burnley Socialism was the founding in 1897 of a Branch of the Independent Labour Party. This organisation had been started by Keir Hardie and had for its object the immediate amelioration of the condition of the working

1. Much information supplied by Mr. R. B. Watson, J.P.

classes by State action, and, ultimately, the complete re-organisation of society on a basis of Socialism. The S.D.F. stood for a rigid Marxism and could not work with the I.L.P. whose principles implied State legislation: nor could the S.D.F. agree that workers should support the nominee of the Liberal, Liberal-Unionist or Conservative party, if they had no nominee of their own. Meanwhile both parties continued the policy of permeating trade unions with political feeling.

The Parliamentary election of 1900 was a straight fight between Mr. William Mitchell, Conservative, and the Hon. Philip Stanhope, the retiring Liberal Member. Possibly Burnley's enthusiasm for the Boer War, the divisions in the Liberal party, and the facts that Mr. Mitchell was a local man, an athlete of some renown, and an ex-scholar of the Burnley Grammar School, gave the Conservatives their first victory, if one may except the return of a Liberal-Unionist in 1866. In the municipal elections, also, the tide turned in favour of the Conservatives and in 1902 gains were registered as follows—three Conservatives, one Liberal, one Socialist, one Independent.

Meanwhile the S.D.F. and the I.L.P. worked hard to convert trade unionists to Socialism and were so far successful that the Trades Council in 1903 decided to affiliate with the Labour Representation Committee, though the Weavers' Union did not join until two years later. The new body had been founded in 1900 as a Federation of Trade Unions and Socialist Organisations with the object of establishing a Parliamentary Labour Party with its own whips, etc. By joining with the L.R.C. the Burnley Trades Council accepted the duty of working with the S.D.F. and I.L.P., but a lurking desire of the older Burnley trade unionists to maintain their original position was evident in the request that if Mr. Hyndman was too ill to contest the next election a Labour non-Socialist should be nominated; there was also the fear that many Labour-Radicals would not vote for a Marxist, though sponsored officially by the Labour Representation Committee.

The Social Democratic Federation held its annual conference in Burnley in 1904 and its supporters hoped that the meetings would herald a change in their political fortunes. In the following year the Burnley Branch of the L.R.C. held its first meeting and the local bond between trade unionists and socialists seemed complete. In 1906 the national Labour Representation Committee became the Labour Party. This policy of co-ordinating the work of all parties of the "Left" did not, at first, give the great results that were expected. In the municipal elections of 1906 six Liberals, five Conservatives, and one Socialist, Mr. D. Irving, were returned; in the Parliamentary Elections, the Liberal Mr. Fred Maddison was returned

with a majority of 324 over the Conservative Mr. G. A. Arbuthnot, while Mr. Hyndman was at the bottom of the poll with 4,932 votes out of an electorate of nearly 16,000. The Labour Party was by no means dismayed, for it could record that during the last 11 years, when the electorate had risen by 2,500, the Labour vote had increased by 3,500, while the number of Liberal and Conservative supporters remained practically stationary.

In August 1908 a trade depression created widespread unemployment and resulted in 20,000 workers making demonstrations; they marched on the Town Hall and the Workhouse and attacked the Weavers' Committee which refused to increase its relief scales. The Trades Council appears to have been divided in its attitude to the situation but the majority deplored the excesses. Fortunately, trade improved slightly within a month or two and the tension in what might have become a dangerous condition was relieved. Possibly as a result of the 1908 troubles, a few members of the S.D.F. unsuccessfully advocated a break from the Trades Council and the Unions, and were dubbed by Irving as "Impossibilists": they set up a Burnley Branch of the "Socialist Party of Great Britain" but the life of the new Society in Parliament Street, Burnley was very short. During 1906-10 many Socialist leaders spoke in Burnley: these included the Countess of Warwick, Michael Davitt, Stephen Walsh, Miss Margaret Bondfield, George Lansbury, Ben Tillet, Keir Hardie, Philip Snowden, Ramsay MacDonald, and, of course, H. M. Hyndman.

The 1906 elections, which gave the Liberals a very strong majority in the House of Commons, had seen the return of a Liberal representative for Burnley. At the end of 1909 the House of Lords rejected the "People's Budget" and therefore in January 1910 an appeal was made to the country. A heavy poll throughout the country resulted in the return of the Liberals with a much reduced majority; in Burnley, the Conservative candidate, Mr. G. A. Arbuthnot, defeated the retiring Liberal Member, Mr. F. Maddison by 95 votes, while Mr. Hyndman, the third candidate, polled 4,948 votes or only 628 less than the Conservative. It was obvious that the combined Conservative and Liberal parties had retained their hold on Burnley during the critical years 1906-10. Late in 1910, negotiations between the major political parties on the problem of the "Lords' Veto" broke down and once more an appeal to the country was made. In the ensuing elections of December the Liberals were returned with approximately the same majority; in Burnley there was a heavier poll than ever for the Liberal and Conservative candidates but the Socialist poll

was reduced by 1,100; Mr. P. Morrell, the Liberal candidate was victorious over the retiring Conservative Member, Mr. Arbuthnot, by the narrow margin of 73 votes.

The extension of the franchise in 1918 to include men of 21 and women of 30 brought the Burnley electorate to over 50,000, but of this number less than 36,500 went to the polls in November 1918. Again there were three candidates:— Mr. Mulholland (Conservative), Mr. J. H. Grey (Liberal) and Mr. D. Irving (Socialist); the two latter lived in Burnley. For the first time in the history of Burnley, the Socialists won the election, and since that date, except during 1931-35 when Rear-Admiral G. Campbell was Burnley's M.P., they have continued to represent the town. The Socialist representatives have been Mr. D. Irving 1918 until his death in 1924, the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson 1924-31, and Mr. W. A. Burke 1935 to the present time.

Mr. D. Irving was born in Birmingham in 1854 and from the age of 13 until he was 21 served at sea. He then became a railway-man but lost a leg in an accident and turned his attention to politics. He became a convert to Socialism and went to Bristol to organise the Gasworkers' Union, now part of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. In 1895 he came to Burnley as secretary of the Social Democratic Federation. He soon began to take an interest in town affairs and was elected in 1898 to the School Board, in 1901 to the Board of Guardians and in 1902 to the Town Council for Gannow. He was always ready to adopt unusual methods to force his opinions at meetings where his party was in a minority and though such actions were considered "unreasonable conduct," all were agreed that his sincerity was unquestionable. He made many friends among all classes, irrespective of social position and political opinions: included among them was Lady O'Hagan. He was made a Freeman of the Borough two days before his death in 1924. Mr. Irving contested North-West Manchester, Accrington, and Rochdale before he was successful at Burnley in 1918 under the auspices of the Labour Party, of which the Burnley Trade and Labour Council was a member.

With the end of the First World War in 1918, Burnley entered on one more period of distress, largely due to the rapid demobilisation of men who could not find work during the change-over from war to peace production. Many official and unofficial proposals were made to remedy or relieve the problem of unemployment—the municipalisation of the distribution of coal, the establishment of a municipal bank to loan money at a cheap rate of interest, municipal factories where

weavers might receive wages instead of doles, and the extension of road-building schemes to find work for the unemployed; at the same time, there was a demand that the amount of relief should be increased. The programme of the Labour Party did not commend itself to the ratepayers and in 1922 all the seven Labour representatives on the Council were defeated at the polls. Such a disaster was a bitter blow to Socialist hopes. The distress was followed by the cotton boom but still the Labour party was in a minority in the Council chamber; in 1932, however, when the boom was over, all the retiring Labour members were returned. In 1933 they gained two more seats and in 1934 made a net gain of six so that they were able to control the Council. Four years later, the anti-Socialists regained control, but in 1945 the elections once more returned a Labour majority.

CHAPTER IX.

Religious Life.

For the various religious organisations in the town, the period 1850-1900 was one of vigorous life and rapid growth. In an age when church and chapel-going was a regular habit among all but the least respectable, facilities had to be provided for communal worship at Sunday and week-night services, class-meetings, etc. for a rapidly increasing population. In addition, the religious bodies were largely the instruments of social reform, attacking energetically the evils of drunkenness, gambling and immorality. They were in the forefront of the movement to provide day-schools for the young and facilities for adult education and self-improvement. Further, they were the centres of social life, organising entertainments, tea-parties, bazaars, lantern-lectures, treats and "pic-nics," at a time when there were few other means of relaxation and pleasure to brighten the drab conditions of life and work in an industrial community. The growth of the churches is illustrated by the fact that from 1850 to 1890 over thirty places of worship were built in Burnley to accommodate about 16,000 people.

After 1900, however, conditions began to change; the growth was checked and a decline in church membership set in. Among the reasons responsible were the decline in the habit of church going as the opportunities for other forms of pleasureable activity increased; the diverting of much of the crusading energy into political channels; the taking-over by secular organisations or the municipal authority of much of the educational and social work; the failure of the Sunday Schools, the training ground for membership of church and chapel, to hold many, especially of their adult scholars; and the inability, due to changed social habits, adequately to replace the older leaders, often men of outstanding personality and ample means, who gave generous financial support as well as enthusiastic work, as they were lost by death or ceased to reside in the town.

In an attempt to recover some of the ground lost, there has been a marked change of direction in the social work of the churches. For the younger generation, scout troops, guides, boys' brigades, and youth clubs have been formed; for the older people, institutes and dramatic societies have been organised, while there has been much emphasis on sport, in particular football and cricket leagues, in the effort to attract

young men. The organisations for the older members, such as mothers' meetings and Dorcas Societies alone have continued with little change.

During the period under review, a large number of clergymen, ministers and other leaders of religious life have by their devoted work left their mark on the town. For their zeal in serving the spiritual need of their parishes and congregations, in pastoral visitations, in combatting the social evils of their day, and in "taking religion to the people" by means of revivalist meetings and open-air services, they are still held in honoured memory in the various churches to which they ministered. Many will be mentioned later in the account of the growth of the various denominations in Burnley. Some are remembered in wider circles for the lead they gave on various social questions, or for their contribution to the educational development of the community. From many instances of this kind a few only can be mentioned here.

For several years in succession 1852-9, the Rev. E. Paxton Hood was engaged to give courses of popular lectures on subjects that varied from "Wives and Husbands" and "Great Deeds of Little Men" to "Russia and Turkey" and "Uncrowned Kings of Europe." In 1858 the Rev. J. T. Shawcross of Salem and other ministers began to give Sunday afternoon lectures in the Mechanics' to working men on moral problems, while, a little later, the Rev. G. Gill of Westgate and the Rev. J. Stroyan of Bethesda endeavoured to stimulate interest in natural history, language, literature and travel. The Rev. R. Littlehales of Sion 1875-87 was prominent for his outspoken criticism of the tendencies of the times. On Sunday afternoons in the Brown Street Theatre and on weekdays in Altham's Coffee Tavern, he vigorously attacked the theatre and drama, which he described as "The devil's own literature," intemperance, gambling, coursing and pigeon-flying. The Rev. W. H. Allen of Aenon courageously raised in public lectures subjects that roused the most bitter controversy—the wages question and industrial relationships. Curiously enough, the rise of a secularist society which began to hold meetings in the Public Hall early in 1862 created little anxiety, though there was much comment when Mrs. Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh made regular visits to Burnley 1875-80 and lectured on such subjects as "Jesus, Shelley, and Malthus." and the "Book of Genesis." The general policy of the religious bodies seems to have been to ignore the new Society though the Rev. W. M. Westerby of Salem, who was fresh from College, challenged Bradlaugh to a public debate on "Has or is man a Soul." At the end of the 19th century, the attacks of the Rev. R. M. Julian of Ebenezer

on gambling, intemperance, poverty, over-crowding, waste and other social evils roused controversies that went far beyond Burnley. Still later, the Rev. J. Appleyard of Westgate attracted large congregations by expounding similar outspoken views on social questions. In addition, Burnley was visited by many of the great nonconformist preachers of the late 19th century, including De Witt Talmage, Dr. Parker, Peter Mackenzie (resident in Burnley 1859), W. L. Watkinson, Hugh Price Hughes, "General" Booth, Bramwell Booth, Charles H. Spurgeon, Mark Guy Pearse, Dr. Clifford and John Gutteridge.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

After 1850 as more day-schools were established, the Sunday schools gradually abandoned their original function of giving elementary instruction in reading and writing, and began to concentrate on the study of the Bible and the teaching of Christian principles. To encourage and direct this development, two Sunday School Unions were formed, one in 1859 by the Wesleyans and the other a little later by the other nonconformist bodies. At the Union meetings, the teachers presented a census of their schools, compared progress, and discussed teaching methods and school organisation. In later years, the Union held scripture examinations, organised musical contests, and awarded certificates for merit and for long service. In 1867 the Union representing Ebenezer, Gannow, Mount Pisgah, Mount Pleasant (United Methodist at the time), Salem, Westgate and Salford Band of Hope School reported that all teachers prepared their lessons, carried through a systematic course of study, and encouraged among their scholars Bible home-reading in connection with the lessons. The census of 1867 gave the following statistics:— Wesleyan (two schools)—867 scholars and 120 teachers; Baptists (three schools),—953 scholars and 103 teachers; Congregationalist (three schools)—1,353 and 98; Primitive (one school)—510 and 116; United Methodists (one school)—744 and 96; Church of England (nine schools)—2,646 and 199. To these should be added the numbers in various mission schools making a total of approximately 8,000 scholars and 800 teachers. By 1880, the centenary year of the Sunday school movement, many more chapels had been built and Sunday school work had been so extended that numbers were almost doubled: the Wesleyans alone had 4,000 scholars and 560 teachers. In 1887 the total number of scholars, teachers and helpers was estimated to be 20,000.

Special mention should be made of various "Mission Schools," sometimes known as "Ragged Schools," which were

held in the worst parts of the town to cater for the needs of very poor children. The "Band of Hope School" began in 1857 in a back-to-back cottage in Royle Road and was so successful that in 1861 the adjacent cottage and the two corresponding cottages in Vernon Street were leased. Here, in crowded conditions, teachers from the United Methodists taught "self-culture" and the principles of Christianity to some 300 scholars: at the same time they collected clothing which was distributed among the most needy. About 1882 the school was transferred to an iron building, vacated by Bethesda, and there continued until the early years of the 20th century when it was joined to the parent Sunday School at Brunswick. The "School of Hope" which was held in a building at the corner of Hull Street and Tentre Street in Fulledge began in 1855 and had an average attendance of 200 scholars; this school also was conducted by the United Methodists and continued until about 1890. The "Ragged School" in connection with Bethesda was opened about 1868 and was held in the Temperance Hall in Keighley Green until an iron building was erected in Salford in 1872. Unfortunately public support was not continuous and the venture would soon have failed had not John Bond come to the rescue and guaranteed all expenses; this school closed about 1882. Other Ragged Schools were opened by the Wesleyans at Wood Top in 1881 and in the Red Lion Street Schools in 1885; a similar school was begun by the same body in 1865 at Lane Bridge but three years later a chapel was built on which the school was made dependent.

CHOIRS.

Burnley's traditional love of music found expression in the early institution of chapel choirs, although the installation of organs was at first viewed with some concern by the older members. "Special music by the choir" became one of the attractions of church and chapel services. At the larger places of worship, an anthem or solo was a regular feature of the evening service, while for the annual "Choir Sermons" there were crowded congregations for "The Messiah" or other popular oratorio or cantata by a well-trained "augmented" choir often with "principals" of nation-wide repute. At the smaller or mission chapels, the "Service of Song" was extremely popular from 1880-90, and to a less degree for many years afterwards: it offered the attraction of a moving, if somewhat sentimental, "moral" story, interspersed with appropriate musical items, hymns or specially composed sacred songs. Among the old favourites were "Little Minnie," "Jessica's First Prayer," "Her Benny," "Christy's Old Organ," "Hezekiah," and

“Victories of Judah.” Enthusiasm and hard practice brought many of the choirs to a high standard of performance, and the Colne Road Wesleyan Choir succeeded in carrying off the 2nd Prize at the Crystal Palace contests in 1897.

MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT SOCIETIES.

In the latter part of the 19th century, and even a little later, nearly every church and chapel had a “Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Society” in connection with its Sunday school adult class. The weekly meetings took the form of a debate or a lecture followed by discussion. Topics varied considerably, and while some Societies applied themselves to the study of a single subject for a whole session, others discussed a different subject at each meeting. The earliest Burnley Society seems to have been formed in 1864 at Wesley Chapel in Hargreaves Street. It met on Fridays and in its earliest years was interested in physiology; among its lecturers was Dr. Brumwell who spoke on “Digestion” and “John Wesley, the physician.” The Brunswick Society chose for discussion the political questions of the day and argued at some length the the various aspects of “Nationalisation”; Sion followed Brunswick’s lead and examined the comparative merits of “Monarchy and Republicanism.” The Society attached to St. Peter’s showed a preference for literature, and studied the “life and work” of Shakespeare, Milton, Swift, and other writers. All Societies at some time or other in their existence held courses in geology and physiography, two subjects which were extremely popular in Burnley in the middle and late 19th century. The Societies at Westgate, formed in 1867, Mount Pleasant 1869, St. Peter’s 1879, and St. Paul’s 1880 were often known as “Young Men’s Christian Societies.” The Westgate Society held 72 meetings in its first year of which many were prayer meetings; by 1879 it had become more of an “Improvement Society,” devoted particularly to the study of art which it encouraged by holding exhibitions of famous pictures.

At the turn of the century, the character of Mutual Improvement Societies began to undergo a radical change. Founded originally on a religious basis to encourage youths to develop their minds and increase their knowledge, they began about 1890 to pay greater attention to sport and social activities, so that by 1900 nearly every church and chapel had its cricket and football teams and its social club which replaced the older Society.

THE Y.M.C.A.

Among the organisations designed to cater for the needs of youths and the younger adults, none is better known than the Young Men's Christian Association. The Burnley Branch was formed in October 1873 at a meeting at which Mr. T. T. Wilkinson presided. It was really an amalgamation of several societies already existing, including the "Unsectarian Young Men's Evangelist Society" (established as a result of a "revival") and the Mount Pleasant and Westgate Young Men's Christian Societies. The early leaders were J. Howarth, B. H. Cowgill, E. Houlding, and W. H. Spencer. Rooms in St. James' Row were taken, and various activities were organised. Prayer meetings and religious services were held on Sundays and on two week-nights, debates and lectures were arranged, and rugby football and cricket teams were formed. By 1889 there was also a choir which for several years organised Saturday evening concerts and entertainments. The Association gradually declined but was re-invigorated in 1902 by Mr. J. P. Leather and Mr. Hocking. An "underground room" was taken in Hargreaves Street but this was abandoned in 1904 for rooms at the bottom of Sandygate, where a library and refreshment facilities were provided. In 1909, it moved its headquarters to Parker Lane and here it carried on for a few more years.

THE Y.W.C.A.

The Young Women's Christian Association began in 1880 and leased a room from the Y.M.C.A. in St. James' Row. Mrs. Stroyan, the wife of the Bethesda minister, organised a Ladies' Literary Association which arranged annual courses in literature and history under the Oxford University Extension scheme. The lectures were public, and though they proved a financial loss, the ladies continued their policy and collected subscriptions to make up the deficit. The general scope of the activities of the Y.W.C.A. may be seen from the following programme:— Monday—drill; Tuesday—Improvement class; Wednesday—sewing class; Saturday—prayer meeting; Sunday—Bible class. The Association also provided lodgings for young women at 10s. a week with full board.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

The Temperance Movement in Burnley originated in 1834 with the "invasion" of the town by a few temperance reformers from Blackburn, led by Joseph Livesey. By 1836

Mount Pleasant Chapel had become the headquarters of the cause, and there Stephen Tillotson of Burnley was crowned "King of Teetotallers" and another man was designated "King of Drunkards." Before 1850, every chapel then in existence had formed its own Temperance Society, which held weekly open air meetings in the poorest parts of the town, and arranged public lectures to demonstrate in every possible way the disastrous effects of intemperance. In 1854 Mount Pleasant (U.M.F.C.), Sion and Aenon (Baptists), Salem and Bethesda (Congregationalists) agreed to co-ordinate their work by forming the "Union of Temperance Societies" with Thomas Booth as President and Edward Berry as Secretary. In 1858 St. Paul's Temperance Society, the first to be formed in Burnley in connection with the Church of England, was begun by the Rev. R. Nicholson, Mr. W. M. Grant, and Mr. George Smithson. Meanwhile the Union leased a building in Keighley Green and here the first Temperance Hall was established; after a few years the headquarters were transferred to the Temperance Hall in Hammerton Street, a building which later became "Cheap John's." Meetings of individual Societies and of the Union were often broken up by roughs, but the work went on, and to prove the earnestness of the movement, even larger demonstrations and longer processions were held.

Realising that the best hope for the future was to "start with the children," from about 1855 each chapel began to form a "Band of Hope" in connection with its Sunday school, and each week the young members met in the schoolroom to hear a temperance talk, perhaps with a few lantern slides, and listen to an entertainment. A "Union of Bands of Hope" was formed in 1878 and an annual Festival was held for many years with long processions through the town, lectures and a tea-party.

In 1866 the Burnley and Habergham Eaves Temperance Society was formed with Luke Collinge as President and W. Bellingham as Secretary. This Society, which seems to have replaced the original Burnley Temperance Union, carried on the same work with demonstrations, processions, lectures and concerts, but being supported by a larger number of people was able to secure the services of the most notable temperance speakers of the day.

"The Church of England Abstinence Society" was formed about 1860 and was re-organised in 1873. It held monthly meetings at which each parish in succession was responsible for the programme.

The Temperance cause in Burnley took a new direction in 1882 with the start of the "Blue Ribbon" movement.

From the beginning this was a great success. Hundreds signed the "Pledge" and agreed to wear the "Badge"—a narrow strip of blue and white ribbon. As part of the movement, a Branch of the British Women's Temperance Association was formed. A paid organiser was appointed and under his guidance new life was infused into the Bands of Hope and Temperance Societies. In 1892 a room was taken in St. James' Row "for social and recreative purposes to counteract the influence of other places." Concerts were given twice a week, mothers' meetings were held, and debates in the "Forum" were organised. Out of the Blue Ribbon movement grew the "Gospel Temperance Missions," of which one or two still remain.

Unfortunately, politics threatened to disrupt the temperance movement in 1886. Radicals maintained that Gladstone had done more for "the cause" than Tory politicians, and that his good work was constantly disparaged and obstructed by his political opponents. At one or two Burnley meetings, where prominent Tories and Liberals were together on the platform, controversial expressions of opinion in regard to Gladstone's policies from one or other political faction generated so much heat that there was an open breach and the Liberals founded their own "Burnley Radical Temperance Society." After two years, wiser counsel prevailed; the new Society was dissolved, and the united work of temperance reform continued.

Shortly after the opening of the present century, the Burnley Temperance Societies began to decline. Living standards rose, and the abject poverty with which excessive drinking was too often associated became much less common. Other and better means of occupying leisure hours became available; and in response to the efforts of religious bodies and reformers, and the effect of educational influences on the younger generation, re-inforced by national and local legislation, a more enlightened public opinion was gradually formed. There was a marked decrease in the amount of habitual drunkenness, so that work of the Temperance Societies seemed to lose much of its urgency.

THE CHURCHES IN BURNLEY.

To supplement this general sketch of the religious and social work of the churches in Burnley during the last century, there follows a more detailed account of the churches of the Anglican Community, especially St. Peter's, and some particulars of the growth and development of other denominations.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The incumbency of Canon Mosley Master at St. Peter's, 1826-55, had seen the foundation of the Churches of Holy Trinity 1836, St. James 1849, All Saints 1849 and St. Paul 1853. As the population of Burnley grew and more churches became necessary in the newer districts, Canon Townley Parker 1855-1901, aided by the generosity of the Thursbys and members of the Hargreaves' family, established the Churches of St. Andrew 1867, St. Stephen 1879, St. Matthew 1879, St. John 1880, St. Catherine 1897, and St. Margaret 1898, to be followed by that of St. Cuthbert 1908.

The division of the ancient Chapelry of Burnley into separate independent parishes was not accomplished without financial difficulty, for though donors were found to give land and money for the erection of many of the new parish churches, the maintenance of the fabric and the building of additional premises for schools was a severe strain in the poorer districts. Thus a considerable part of the energies of clergy and congregations had to be devoted to raising funds by means of bazaars, sales of work, concerts and gift schemes. The problem of providing an adequate stipend for the vicars of the new parishes also gave rise to grave concern; some incumbents were granted only £150 a year and the pew rents. The position was eased in 1890 when Canon Parker with great generosity voluntarily surrendered all the endowments of St. Peter's into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who, under the Burnley Rectory Act of 1890, allocated the income from the endowments (estimated at £4,000 a year) between St. Peter's and nine other parishes. At the same time Canon Parker surrendered the advowson of St. Peter's to the Bishop of Manchester. In return it was agreed that all future rectors of Burnley should be "Suffragan Bishops of Burnley." When the diocese of Blackburn came into existence, the Bishop of Blackburn took over the advowson of St. Peter's.

The question of the degree to which ritual should be observed in Burnley church services perturbed the minds of churchmen and at one time caused a split in their ranks. Canon Mosley Master was a "low" churchman and supported the Rev. Mr. Bardsley's "Burnley Protestant Association," formed to fight the growth of Roman Catholicism and resist the influence of "Puseyism" in the English Church. Under Canon Master, the services at St. Peter's and other Burnley churches were plain, devoid of song and intonation, and without any form of ritual or ceremony. He even ordered a Catholic form of prayer to be deleted from a tombstone in the churchyard; the words were restored by order of his successor.

Canon Townley Parker succeeded to St. Peter's in 1855, and after preaching in one of his early sermons from the text "Let all things be done decently and in order" began to introduce innovations into the service. In 1869 the "Church News" reported "In Burnley Church the service is now entirely choral and the congregation joins in, so that there is a great contrast with the cold dull style of evangelicals. The people have now begun to turn to the East when repeating the Creed, and there is a weekly celebration of Holy Communion. 'Hymns Ancient and Modern' are now used." The Burnley Protestant Association was revived in 1889 and a memorial, signed by a large number of churchmen and sent to Canon Parker, criticised "the use of lighted candles on the Altar, stoles, birettas and surplices, the customs of crossing and bowing, kissing the Gospel Book, prostrating before and elevating the Elements, elevating the alms dish, and standing on the west side of the Altar so that parishioners could not see the manual acts." A similar change occurred at St. James' and at St. Matthew's, though not to the same extent as at St. Peter's. The Rev. Hugh Stamer, vicar of St. James' 1844-77, appointed in the time of Canon Master, was a "low" churchman, but reports stated that his successor would introduce the surplice and celebrate Holy Communion more frequently; at St. Matthew's when Holy Communion was celebrated on Easter Day, candles were lit on the Altar, "a new departure in Burnley."

The quarrel came to a head in 1892 when one of the curates at St. Peter's publicly declared his belief in "auricular confession" and admitted that he made a practice of confessing to another priest. The Protestant Association arranged public lectures to put forward their case and were answered in other lectures arranged by the Burnley Branch of the English Church Union. Finally, in May 1893, the Protestant Association, led by one of the wardens of St. Peter's, opened St. Saviour's, a Mission Room in Chaffer's Yard and later above Carter's Surgery in Church Street where they conducted their own form of Church service and where they were often visited by licensed preachers. A number of families seceded in 1898 and established the "Gospel Protestant Mission Hall" in Church Street.

The relations between Church and Chapel have generally been very friendly. Canon Parker often preached about dissent and pleaded for unity and a return to the National Church, but the clergy as a whole respected the opinions and principles of nonconformists. Such quarrels as there were, fortunately of short duration, usually came in the heat of a Parliamentary election when cries of "The Church and Shorey" were raised, or at an annual vestry meeting when

parishioners, both churchmen and nonconformists, met at St. Peter's to elect a paid overseer of the poor. At such times, the language used by speakers and onlookers was simple, direct, and unambiguous.

St. Peter's was the pioneer in elementary day school education and practically all the other churches followed its lead. Even after the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 when board schools were built and nonconformists closed their schools or rented them to the Education Committee, the churches still held to their "National Schools" in spite of the great expense involved in maintaining them.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

Mention has already been made of the extensive alterations made to the fabric in 1853-4 at a cost of £4,170. The next great change was made in 1872-3 when the chancel was lengthened from eight to fourteen yards and the Towneley Chapel, which had been open to the chancel, was partitioned off. The new chancel, dedicated on December 3rd 1873 to the memory of General Scarlett, cost £3,000, raised by subscriptions that ranged from £500 to the pennies of Sunday school scholars. The organ has occupied three different positions during the 19th century. In 1803 it was situated in a gallery over the chancel; it was removed in 1853 to a gallery in the west end of the Church; and in 1872 a new organ was bought and placed in its present position. Further improvements costing £1,600, made in 1886, included the re-hanging of the bells (after a period of 83 years), the clearing away of all plaster from the internal walls, the widening of the vestry door, and the installation of a new tower clock which chimed the quarter hours. In 1889 the porchway to the south door was erected, and in 1903 new vestries were built, the old benches in the west end were replaced with pews, and the galleries over the south aisle and in the west end were removed.

A change in the constitution of St. Peter's Church, made by an Order in Council in 1867, raised the status of the incumbent to that of "Rector." In theory, St. Peter's had previously been a "Chapel of Ease," dependent on the Parish Church of Whalley; in practice, however, it had itself been a Parish Church for centuries, performing all the rites and ceremonies proper to a parish church—baptisms, marriages, and burial. The anomaly became pronounced in the 18th century when the advowson, or right to nominate the incumbent of St. Peter's, was granted to Edmund Townley of Royle; it was

further accentuated when the advowson descended to the incumbent himself, Canon Parker. The Order of 1867 regularised the position, and the incumbent, as Rector of St. Peter's, became completely independent of Whalley. The more important change brought about by the Burnley Rectory Act of 1890, which resulted in the creation of the office of "Suffragan Bishop of Burnley" has already been noted.

The following have been the incumbents of St. Peter's during the last hundred years:—

Robert Mosley Master: 1826-1855.
 Arthur Townley Parker: 1855-1901.
 Edwyn Hoskyns: 1901-1904.
 Alfred Pearson: 1905-1909.
 Henry Henn: 1909-1931.
 Edgar Priestley Swain: 1931-1949.
 Charles Keith K. Prosser: 1950-

OTHER CHURCHES.

Holy Trinity: opened 1837; chancel added 1873.

St. James: Sunday school 1839; consecrated 1849; tower and spire 1869.

All Saints: Sunday school 1842; consecrated 1849, rebuilt 1862: £1,000 and site given by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.

St. Paul: Sunday school 1848; site given by Rev. Wm. Thursby and General Scarlett; consecrated 1853.

St. Andrew: Sunday school 1865; site given by R. T. Parker, Esq. of Cuerden; consecrated 1867.

St. Stephen: mission 1865; school chapel 1870; site given by Canon Parker; consecrated 1879.

St. Matthew: mission school at Back Lane 1835; Rev. Wm. Thursby gave £1,000 and Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth gave £400; consecrated 1879; north aisle 1895.

St. John: school at Wood Top 1868; site given by Rev. W. Thursby and Lady Scarlett; consecrated 1880; tower and reredos erected by Thursby family 1892.

St. Catherine: consecrated 1897.

St. Margaret: consecrated 1898.

St. Cuthbert: consecrated 1908.

NONCONFORMISTS.

The chief nonconformist bodies in Burnley in 1840 were the Wesleyans, the United Methodist Free Church, the Primitives, the Baptists, and the Congregationalists. Since 1850 their number have been increased by the Unitarians, the New Church, the Independent Methodists, the Salvation Army, and several Temperance and Gospel Missions. In 1932 the Wesleyans, the United Methodists, and the Primitives united under the name of "The Methodist Church." There are also Churches belonging to the Christian Scientists, Spiritualists, and Latter Day Saints.

THE WESLEYAN METHODISTS.

The first Wesleyan Chapel in Burnley was erected in 1787 in Keighley Green. The Wesley Chapel in Hargreaves Street, which replaced the old chapel, was opened in 1840, and since then considerable sums have been spent on improvements and renovations. The Society increased its membership rapidly, and was particularly active in education and all forms of social service. The Red Lion Street Schools were built in 1851 and served for many years as a Wesleyan day school, afterwards becoming a Council School. The Wesleyan Town Mission was formed in 1857 as an amalgamation of four existing societies: The "Mission," principally concerned with the expansion of Wesleyanism; the "Benevolent and Sick Society" 1830-90; the "Tract Society" 1830-90; and the "Sabbath Society" whose aim was "to reclaim the vicious and disorderly who assemble on Sundays on the outskirts of the town for gambling, racing, etc." Paid missionaries organised the work of the Town Mission, paid house-to-house visits, held cottage prayer meetings, helped the sick and gave relief to the poor.

Other chapels attached to the Wesleyans include:—

Fulledge: opened 1861.

Lane Bridge: mission school 1865; chapel opened 1868.

Accrington Road: chapel at Bartle Hills 1849; removed to Accrington Road 1871.

Rosehill: mission 1871.

Colne Road: meeting place 1863; opened 1872.

Whittlefield: mission 1873; opened 1878.

Brooklands Road: mission 1879; opened 1882.

Stoneyholme: mission 1880; opened 1888.

Wood Top: mission 1878; opened 1891.

Piccadilly Road: mission 1890; opened 1892; Sunday school after 1905.

Park Hill: meeting place 1826; opened 1843.

Ightenhill: meeting place 1824; opened 1845.

Manchester Road: opened 1905.

Queensgate: mission chapel opened 1909.

THE UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCH.

The Burnley Society of the United Methodist Free Church began in 1834 under the name of the "Protestant Wesleyan Methodists." After holding meetings in Lane Bridge and then in Salford Mill, the members built Mount Pleasant Chapel in 1835, and there continued until 1869 when they entered into new premises in Manchester Road, known as "Brunswick." As with the Wesleyans, social work was a particular concern of this denomination, and they established "The Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society" in 1836. Mount Pleasant also became the early home of the Temperance Movement, and in 1846 the first Burnley "Total Abstinence Society" was formed by its members. This Society enlarged the scope of its activities in 1855 and became the "Town and Temperance Mission." The first town missionary was the able and devoted Willam Whitham who served from 1855 to 1866 and again from 1877 until his death in 1901. In 1895 Mr. J. P. Astin was appointed at a salary of 25s. a week to assist Mr. Whitham. His diary,⁽¹⁾ which contains many pathetic stories of hardship among the poor, shows the varied activities of the missionaries. In 1897, for example, besides special visits to distribute relief, Mr. Astin paid 4,153 general visits to poor people, including 1,751 visits to the sick and 2,008 for prayer. In the same year, he held 24 cottage meetings, 40 chapel services, and five open air services; paid 23 visits to the infirmary and the workhouse; visited 37 death beds; conducted 27 prayer meetings and gave 28 Sunday school addresses. In addition, by way of relaxation, he officiated at many tea-parties, band of hope meetings, and services of song. The membership at Brunswick was 316 in 1884 and 300 in 1934: attendance at Sunday school declined from 1,100 in 1880 to 600 in 1934.

Other chapels attached to the United Methodist Free Church include the following:—

Myrtle Bank: Mount Pisgah (Stoops) 1835 removed to Myrtle Bank.

Claremont: chapel at Gannow 1861 removed to Claremont 1891.

Hanover: mission 1878; chapel opened 1892.

Lincoln Street: opened 1883.

1. Diary loaned by Mr. J. Atkin.

THE PRIMITIVE METHODISTS.

The Primitive Methodists opened their campaign in Burnley about 1822. The early history of the movement is obscure, but it seems that the meeting room was first in Salford, then in Thorneybank, in 1830 in Lane Bridge and afterwards in Wapping. At last in 1834 the members erected a chapel in Curzon Street where they stayed until 1852 when Bethel was built in Hammerton Street at a cost of £2,300. For some time the Primitives followed their Society's custom of holding Camp Meetings and used to meet at Heasandford for that particular form of religious service. On one occasion in 1865 the field was so wet that the leaders decided to hold the gathering in Keighley Green and were very annoyed when the police declared the meeting to be an obstruction.

Missioners and "Gospel Bands" were sent out to hold prayer meetings in cottages and expand the work in districts that were being developed. These brought about the foundation of the following chapels:—

Mount Zion (Colne Road): mission at Rake Head 1847; small chapel in Briercliffe Road 1858; new chapel opened 1879, closed 1938.

Elim: small chapel at Lane Head 1867; new chapel opened 1895.

Rehoboth: mission in cottage in Springfield Road and then in a mill; chapel opened 1869.

Zion (Gannow Top): chapel opened 1869.

Rosegrove: opened 1905.

Jubilee (Padiham Road): opened 1902.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS.

The Lancashire Congregational Union began its mission in Burnley in 1805 and used a small room in St. James's Street as a meeting place until Bethesda was built in 1814. Of all its famous ministers, the Rev. John Stroyan 1853-77 is possibly the best known. He attracted large congregations by his wide learning, simple language and plainness of speech. Mrs. Stroyan, who survived him, took a great interest in the work of the Y.W.C.A., encouraged a love of literature, and did much for the cause of education; she won some reputation for her poetry. In 1864 the trustees of Bethesda acquired land on Bank Parade as the site of a new chapel but eventually decided to rebuild the old chapel; the new Bethesda was opened in 1881. The Rev. P. H. Davies, the first minister in the new chapel,

resigned in 1886 to take up an appointment at the City Tabernacle, London. A Ragged School was started in 1873 in an iron building in Salford and carried on until 1882 when it was taken over by the United Methodists.

Salem Chapel was established by a few families which seceded from Bethesda in 1849. After holding meetings in a room in Back Market Street and then in the Temperance Hall in Hammerton Street, they built Salem Chapel which was opened in 1851. With evangelistic fervour, members continued to hold open air services on an open space behind the Chapel. The Rev. J. T. Showeross 1858-65 and John Reid 1865-74 and 1882-4 had a great influence on religious life in Burnley.

Another group which seceded from Bethesda in 1859 established a separate Society at Westgate Chapel which was opened in 1861. The first minister was the Rev. George Gill, who had been a missionary in Mangaia and Rarotonga; after a pastorate of twenty years at Westgate he resigned through ill-health and joined a financial business in Burnley. In 1882 the trustees proposed that the Sunday School premises should be taken over by the School Board, but when the Board of Education refused to sanction the scheme, the buildings were altered at considerable expense and opened as a voluntary day school; the school was eventually taken over in 1895.

Other Congregationalist chapels include the following: Hollingreave Road: mission school largely dependent on Salem 1889; chapel opened 1896.

Rosegrove: opened 1900.

Thursby Road: opened 1914; now taken over by the Free Gospel Mission.

THE BAPTISTS.

The first Ebenezer Chapel was built in 1786 at a cost of £300 and was enlarged in 1816 by converting an adjacent house into a Sunday School and vestry. A new Sunday school was erected in 1850 but was demolished nine years later to provide a site for the present chapel, opened in 1861. The chapel was re-pewed and re-decorated in 1881 when there were some 350 members. The Sunday school with 500 scholars which had been transferred to the old chapel soon outgrew its accommodation and the present schools were erected in 1870 at a cost of £3,000; at its opening there were 640 scholars and 53 teachers. The school buildings were opened as a voluntary day school in 1873 and so continued until 1893. The

Rev. R. M. Julian, 1897-1911 was possibly the best known of the later pastors. His sermons on the social conditions in Burnley attracted wide attention, while his social club with rooms near Duke Bar was perhaps the most flourishing that ever existed in Burnley: at one period it had over 1,000 members.

Soon after 1860 a number of Scotch Baptists from Haggate, anxious to establish a branch of their Society in Burnley, began to hold meetings in a room at Duke Bar. Membership increased rapidly and, within four years, Bethel Baptist Chapel in Hebrew Road had been erected at a cost of £600; that building is now a Reform Club. The congregations at Bethel were so large that the leaders decided to build Angle Street Chapel; it was opened in 1877 and cost £3,000. In the following year a Sunday and day school was presented to the trustees by Abram Altham, Esq. The Altham and Emmett families were particularly good friends of the Chapel.

Sion had its origin in a Sunday school in Pickup Croft, started in 1828 by Richard Hall and a friend who, though he did not know all the letters of the alphabet, assisted in teaching reading and writing to the scholars. A Chapel in Yorkshire Street was opened in 1830 and under the Rev. R. Evans 1844-75 the membership increased considerably. A new Chapel was therefore built in 1863, and the Sunday school, erected in 1854, was rebuilt in 1884. The twelve years' ministry of the Rev. R. Littlehales 1875-87 was particularly noteworthy. He was most critical of theatres and insisted that everyone connected with the stage must be immoral. In no uncertain terms, he condemned Burnley's commonest "vices," intemperance, gambling, dog-coursing, and pigeon flying. His lectures on Sunday afternoons in the Mechanics' or in the Theatre Royal and his talks on Monday evenings in Altham's Coffee Rooms were always interesting and well attended.

Enon Chapel was established in 1852 by sixty-four members who had seceded from Ebenezer in 1850. Within three years its membership had increased to nearly two hundred. The Revs. J. Alcorn 1861-71 and W. H. Allen 1871-5 were most active in building up the influential position that Enon held in social work. The chapel was re-decorated and at the re-opening in 1867 the sermons were preached by the Right Hon. Lord Teynham, perhaps the only occasion on which an English Peer has preached in Burnley.

In 1858 a small number of enthusiastic members of Sion resolved to found another chapel. They took a room in Keighley Green where their pastor, the Rev. G. W. Oldring,

often preached to less than twenty people. Open air services were frequently held at Duke Bar, opposite the Church and in the Park. The new Society was helped by visits from the Rev. J. H. Spurgeon and his more famous brother, the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, who preached in a tent in Cronkshaw Meadow. The work prospered so much that in 1868 the Society bought Mount Pleasant from the United Methodists, removing there in 1871.

Other Baptist Chapels are as follows:—

Mount Olivet: began as a mission in High Street; Enon helped to establish the chapel in Broughton Street 1893.

Emmanuel: offshoot from Ebenezer, opened 1895.

THE NEW CHURCH.

A Branch of the Society known as the "New Church," formerly the "New Jerusalem Church," was established in Burnley in 1812 and two years later a chapel was opened. For the next thirty years the history of the movement is uncertain, but records of 1846 show that a Society in Burnley was then in existence, though in 1849 it had not yet been affiliated to the General Conference. A room in Coke Street was opened on September 9th 1849 and services continued there until 1857 when the Society seems to have failed. In 1867 an attempt to re-establish the Society was made and help was given by friends from Accrington. Inaugural sermons were preached in the Temperance Hall in Keighley Green, and a school-chapel was started, at first probably in the same building, and after 1871 in a room beneath the Weavers' Union Headquarters in Thomas Street. In 1873 the Society again failed, but was re-started in 1885 by the families of Jackson, Phillips, Metcalfes, and Simpsons, who had come from Embsay and Accrington to live in Burnley. At first they met for worship in private houses and eventually took a room in Curzon Street. The rent however proved too much and it was decided to raise £300 and build an iron church of their own. A bazaar in the Mechanics' realised £130 and with this sum, increased by a few donations, a church was built in 1887 and opened in the following year with a membership of twenty-eight. The present church was opened in 1906.

THE UNITARIANS.

The Unitarians made their first effort to establish a Society in Burnley in 1849 when a sermon was preached in a shoemaker's shop. In April 1858 a room in Thomas Street

was taken and here services were conducted and a Sunday school with nine scholars was held. A more permanent home was found in 1859 in Tanner Street and an organ installed. The Rev. W. Robinson, "missionary" for Burnley, Accrington and Blackburn was in charge. To raise funds for a Sunday school and normal church expenses, annual sermons and occasional lectures were given in the Public Hall. In 1868, the first resident minister, the Rev. J. W. Rogers, was appointed and under his guidance a scheme for a new chapel in Trafalgar Street was adopted. The foundation stone was laid in 1870 by Mrs. Fielden of Todmorden and the chapel was opened in the following year by the Rev. C. Beard of Liverpool.

THE SALVATION ARMY.

The Salvation Army began its work in Burnley about 1879 and by its novel methods quickly attracted attention. The meetings were often broken up by gangs of youths who used every form of insult and abuse, while the more sedate townsmen regarded with disapproval the "indecorous" behaviour of "Hallelujah Emma" who headed the small processions through the town. Within twelve months, however, the Army had a regular attendance of 300 at their Sunday evening services and had established Barracks in Ashworth Street (Fulledge), and in Grey Street (Old Hall Street); the latter was later transferred to Travis Street. By 1883 they had so increased their membership that they opened additional Barracks in Westgate and in Hammerton Street, and held a large meeting in the Mechanics' to commemorate their progress. Three Burnley Salvationists caused a considerable stir in 1884 by choosing to go to prison at Preston rather than pay a fine imposed by the Burnley magistrates for holding a meeting that was declared to be an "obstruction." On the eve of their release, their fellow-Salvationists met in Preston for "all-night prayer," led by General Booth himself, and their return home was greeted with great enthusiasm. The General paid his first visit to Burnley in 1893 and preached three times in Westgate Chapel to crowded congregations. At present there are two corps—Holme Street and Accrington Road. The Salvation Army Hostel in Calder Street, founded to "rescue" the poor and unfortunate, has been of inestimable benefit in providing shelter to the homeless, and trying to help them back to a better way of life.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.⁽²⁾

During the past hundred years the Roman Catholics have made considerable progress in Burnley. This advance has been due to the devotion of congregations, the energetic

2. History of St. Mary's Church by Mrs. G. Durkin.

work of the priesthood, and the immigration into the town of many Catholic families. The most notable event in the recent history of the Burnley Roman Catholics was the building of St. Mary's Church to replace the old Burnley Wood Chapel, which had become too small for their needs. St. Mary's was opened in 1849, but unfortunately the £10,000 spent in its erection absorbed all the available funds, and therefore the promoters were able neither to complete the tower and spire nor to furnish and decorate the interior as they wished. Since 1849, however, the appearance of the interior has been considerably enhanced by the addition of the Towneley Chapel, the high altar and reredos, a decorated chancel roof, screens, stained glass windows, etc. The provision of Catholic day-schools for Catholic children has always been one of the foremost aims of the Church, and, as the need arose, early schools have been replaced by larger and more commodious premises. The Convent was completed in 1885. Missions have been started in several parts of the town and these have now become independent Churches.

Rectors :—

Canon Boardman 1849-52.
 Canon Rimmer 1852-61.
 Father Flanagan 1861-71.
 Canon Rimmer 1871-91.
 Canon Morissey 1891-1903.
 Father Roe 1903.
 Canon Corbishley 1903-4.
 Monsignor Cooke 1905-13.
 Monsignor Tynan 1913-39.
 Canon Ingram 1939-

Other Roman Catholic churches in Burnley include the following :—

St. Thomas : school 1876 ; chapel of ease 1895.
 St. Mary Magdelene : mission 1883 ; independent 1887 ; church opened 1904.
 St. John the Baptist : mission (Elm Street) 1891 ; mission (Ivy Street) 1893 ; church opened 1908.
 St. Augustine : mission 1898 ; church opened 1926.
 Christ the King : (to replace St. Thomas's Church) mission 1929 ; church opened 1935.

CHAPTER X

Education.

The 1854 Directory for Mid-Lancashire states that "Perhaps no town in Lancashire is better supplied with public educational institutions than Burnley, every church and chapel in the town having either a day school or Sunday school in connection with it"; the compiler of the Directory might also have added "Excellent facilities for higher education are provided in the Mechanics' and Church Institutes and in the Grammar School." A local report of 1861 stated that 67% of Burnley people could write, a striking testimony to the excellent work of the contemporary schools, particularly when it is remembered that attendance at school was not compulsory until 1871 and that all children had to pay fees. Under the provisions of the Education Act of 1870 a Burnley School Board was set up which made attendance compulsory, levied education rates, erected "Board Schools" to supplement the existing "Voluntary Schools," and began to formulate an educational policy for the town. The Education Act of 1902 abolished School Boards and gave the control of education to the Borough Council which not only carried on and extended the policy of the old School Board in the elementary schools but introduced a much wider scheme of higher education. The Council, acting through its Education Committee, also began to pay particular attention to the health and social welfare of school children. The raising of the school leaving age to 15 years by the 1944 Education Act necessitated a complete re-organisation of the educational system; at the present time Burnley possesses nursery schools, infant schools, special schools, primary schools, secondary schools of varying types, and a municipal college.

DAY SCHOOLS 1850-71.

From 1850 to 1871 the duty of educating the children of Burnley was voluntarily undertaken by religious bodies. In 1871 the following elementary schools were in existence:—"National" or "Church" schools—St. Peter's founded in 1828, Habergham 1832, Back Lane 1835, Lane head 1835, Sandygate 1839, St. James' 1839, Pickup Croft 1848, St. Paul's 1848, St. Stephen's 1865, St. Andrew's 1866; "Nonconformist" schools—Red Lion Street (Wesleyan) 1851, Fulledge (Wesleyan) 1863,

Hammerton Street (Primitive Methodist) 1870, Bethesda (Congregational) 1851, and Salem (Congregational) 1863. The Roman Catholics had separate schools for boys and girls and infants.

The cost of maintaining each school was met by donations, subscriptions, collections, bazaars, tea-parties, school fees and, if subject to Government inspection, by Parliamentary grants. Collections in churches and chapels varied considerably but at St. James' they usually amounted to £20 a year to which donations of £6 were added. The Shuttleworth family built Habergham School, and along with the Dugdale family extended it in 1840 and 1849, and maintained it at their own cost until 1898 when it was handed over to the School Board. Until 1861 Parliamentary aid was given to inspected schools to meet the cost of extensions and equipment and a grant was made each year based on average attendance. In 1847 St. Paul's School received such aid amounting to £508 towards building costs; in 1855 a further sum amounting to £22 was received for "teachers and their apprentices" and £6 5s. 8d. for "books and maps." The Government granted to St. Peter's School £99 in 1847, £100 in 1856 for building extensions and £30 for books and maps. In 1870, when several schools were being erected or enlarged, the Government grant amounted to nearly £3,000. After 1861, a maximum grant of 12s. a scholar was allowed, of which 8s. was given for success in the annual school examination and 4s. for satisfactory attendance. If a child failed to pass in any of the three "R's" or if he had not attended 200 times in the year, there was a corresponding reduction in the grant for that child. This system of "payment by results," which lasted until 1900, was a constant worry to school staffs and a bogey to school children. As the day of the "inspection" drew near, there was a frantic revision of "the rule of 'i' before 'e'," of when to write "there" and "their," how to make up those dreadful "aliquot parts," or bring some neatness to "Bills of Parcels" sums. Fortunate was the school that had a fair number of bright scholars, and vigorous efforts were made to keep them, not only because their school pence increased the headmaster's salary but their ability to pass at the inspection ensured the full grant. Indeed, one headmaster recorded with grief in the log-book that "Three of my best boys have left," a catastrophe made worse by the fact that "they had only three attendances to make in order to qualify for the attendance grant"; another recorded that "Half my school has left to attend the two newly-built schools," leaving him with an unnecessarily large staff that had to be paid. The problem of securing regular attendance was exceptionally difficult and led in one school to a teacher being sent out into the streets to round up the scholars and bring them in. The occasional absence of

a large number of pupils on account of "a good cricket match," "a circus," "a cattle show," or "bad weather" was always recorded in the school log-book.

The scale of school fees in Burnley was fairly uniform and was based on the child's age and school standard. At St. Peter's in 1864 the minimum was 3d. and the maximum 7d. a week; at Salem in 1863 fees ranged from 3d. to 1s. a week but in 1868 the more moderate scale of 2d. to 6d. was introduced. Of children in attendance at Burnley schools in 1870, 382 paid 1d. or 1½d., 3,753 paid 2d. to 3½d., 405 paid 4d. to 5½d., 77 paid 6d. to 9d., and two paid over 9d.; there were also 291 "free" scholars. As no church or chapel wished its school to become a serious liability, school managers kept expenses down to a minimum; few teachers were engaged, salaries were very low, and the headmaster's salary was made to depend on the number of scholars in his school. In one instance, a headmaster, who during fifteen years had increased the number of scholars from 133 to 358 and the income from school fees from £70 to £325, was asked to accept a lower rate of payment; when he refused, he was requested to resign. Classes were always very large and frequently reached well over a hundred; in fact, a certificated teacher up to 1895 was expected to take control of a class of 139 scholars. Pupil teachers, who for a shilling or two a week taught for six hours a day and received tuition from the headmaster and at the Mechanics' in the evening, were employed in large numbers and took full charge of classes; in 1873 the recognised proportion was four pupil teachers to one certificated teacher. Of the three pupil teachers at St. Peter's in 1870, one was paid £17 10s. 0d. a year, a second £12 10s. 0d. and a third £5. Red Lion Street had 960 scholars and a staff of three trained certificated teachers, four uncertificated teachers, and 13 pupil teachers. The largest schools were St. Peter's, Red Lion Street, Fulfilledge and Sandygate.

The school curriculum of 1850-70 was very different from that of today. No provision was made for handicrafts, cookery, physical training, organised games, history, art, or science but much attention was paid to what was then regarded as the essentials of a good elementary education. At Red Lion Street School the subjects taught were reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, and in the upper standards, algebra and geography. The curriculum and organisation at Salem School was perhaps a little ambitious. In 1868 there were four classes in the school which comprised boys, girls and infants; the staff consisted of a headmaster, a lady teacher, who looked after the infants and the girls' sewing, and possibly an "apprentice-teacher." The first or lowest class took reading, writing (in sand trays), arithmetic, and spelling; the second

class added to the list of subjects, dictation, writing (on slates or in copybooks), arithmetic (on slates), and mental arithmetic; the third class continued to take all the previous subjects and also made a start in grammar and geography; the fourth or top class completed its school education with lessons in reading, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, mensuration, algebra, grammar, geography and map-drawing. It is interesting to note that the first headmaster at Salem advertised that if desired, Greek, Latin, French and German could be taught. Morning school began at 9 a.m. and closed at 12 noon; afternoon school opened at 2 p.m. and closed at 5 p.m. though the first and second classes were allowed to leave at 4-30 p.m.

Many of these school buildings were very unsatisfactory. Class-rooms were far too small and in one case 127 children were housed in a room only 8 yards by $6\frac{1}{2}$ yards; in another case, the whole school consisted of a single room with a useless gallery that took up half the floor space so that the inspector reported "that the space vacant (outside the gallery, desks, and table) is so limited that my presence was an additional trouble, and both the teachers and myself had constantly to change positions to enable the work to go on."

DAY SCHOOLS 1871-1903.

The Education Act of 1870 was the first great step towards the establishment of a national system which had for its ultimate object the free and compulsory education of all children. Under its provisions, religious societies were allowed a limited time in which to erect such schools as they desired where their own particular religion might be fostered; afterwards, "School Boards," elected by the ratepayers, were empowered to build "Board Schools" at the public expense in those areas where no elementary educational facilities were available. In the board schools, the "scripture lesson" was to consist of simple Bible teaching.

The Burnley School Board, which at first consisted of nine members, held its first meeting on January 14th 1871. In the following April, it issued a public notice stating that all children living in Burnley between the ages of five and thirteen must attend school. The estimated number of children of school age in Burnley was 5,871 and accommodation, it was thought, would be ample, particularly as Ebenezer School was shortly to be opened for 700 children and Sandygate and St. James' Schools were being extended. Actually in September 1871 there were 5,296 children in the inspected elementary

schools, and 380 in four uninspected schools—Miss Needham's (a single room with 148 children), Victoria Mill, Miss Whitaker's (Stoops Lane) and Mr. Brodie's (Bethel).

Three difficulties faced the Burnley School Board in its earliest years. The most pressing problem was how to compel parents to send their children to school and, at the same time, pay the fees that were demanded. Though the Board agreed to pay the fees if parents could prove hardship, few availed themselves of the offer, since they were inevitably told to seek assistance from the Board of Guardians, a procedure which was heartily disliked. During the first eighteen months there were only 49 applications entertained by the School Board and these were either refused or passed on to the Guardians. School attendance officers were employed to "coax" parents to adopt a more desirable attitude towards the new educational system; when coaxing failed, the help of the magistrates' bench was sought. In spite of these measures, nearly 10% of the children in Burnley never attended school during 1871.

Another difficulty was "irregular attendance" since parents kept their children at home on the most flimsy pretext. In 1871 the average attendance was only 58%, and in spite of frequent appeals for improvement which would increase the Government grant, the average attendance in 1900 was only 77%.

The "half-time" system was a serious hindrance to educational progress and was so widely adopted in Burnley that in 1872 and for many years afterwards nearly 30% of schoolchildren were "half-timers." The regulations governing the half-time system made it comparatively easy for any child of normal ability between the age of ten to thirteen to limit his attendance at school to $2\frac{1}{2}$ days each week; he or she had only to pass a "Third Standard" examination as set by a Government Inspector of Schools. Moreover, any child of ten to thirteen who could pass a "Fifth Standard" examination was free to roam the streets or go to work full time. When the age for beginning work was raised in 1899 to 11 years, the percentage of half-timers in Burnley schools dropped to 20 and when the age limit was again raised in 1901 to twelve years the percentage was reduced to seven. The "half-time" system was finally abolished in 1920.

Elections of the nine members of the School Board always roused a great deal of interest for on their results depended the future educational policy of Burnley. The first Board 1871-77 was representative of the Church of England, Nonconformity, and Roman Catholicism. It prided itself on keeping up a high standard of education, compelling more

children to attend school, raising the average percentage of attendance, and carrying on its work at a minimum expense to the ratepayers. Actually, the yearly average expenditure of the Board was approximately £350, or about 2d. rate per head of the population. The School Boards between 1877 and 1892 were still representative of religious bodies, but a departure from the Boards' recognised policy was foreshadowed by Mr. W. M. Grant, who constantly maintained that "the State should pay the fees of children of the industrious poor and not expect parents to go to relieving officers for help to pay them," a sentiment supported by Father Dillon. Such ideas were not acceptable to the other members of the School Board who feared that the adoption of such a principle would lead to Government interference and the eventual loss of their cherished privilege to teach their own particular religious doctrines in the schools. By 1889 the school population had risen to approximately 16,000 and though several new schools were erected by churches and chapels they did not meet the extra requirements. This situation made the whole problem of school fees more acute and eventually led to their abolition. Since religious bodies, which up to this time had erected all the existing elementary schools in Burnley, could not afford, financially, to build more, the School Board was at last compelled to pass plans for two "Board Schools," one in Abel Street, which was opened in September 1891 and the other in Burnley Wood, which was opened in March 1892. The School Board proposed to charge each child attending the new schools 1d. a week and the managers of Ebenezer, St. Andrew's, and North Street schools were therefore reluctantly compelled to reduce their school fees to 1d. a week for children in Standards I and II and 2d. for other children, and predicted that the reduced income would force them to close the schools. The position became still more critical when the Board of Education refused to sanction even the smallest school fee in Board Schools, with the result that children from Ebenezer and North Street flocked to the new "free" Board School in Abel Street. Shortly afterwards, the two nonconformist schools at Ebenezer and North Street had to close.

There had been a tendency before 1892 to distinguish candidates for election to the School Board as "Voluntary Supporters" (church and chapel) and "Progressives," but the 1892 election was fought principally on political lines. In the latter election for the Board, which had been increased to thirteen members, the poll resulted in the return of six Gladstonian Liberals, five Independents, one Labour, and Canon Morissey who headed the list. The conflict then became more bitter between the supporters of the "free" Board Schools, which were entirely maintained out of the rates and taxes,

and the friends of the old “fee-paying” voluntary schools, which were still partially dependent on parochial efforts and private gifts. The former took the view that, as voluntary schools received some government aid, they should be subject entirely to an elected School Board and abandon all sectarian teaching; the latter maintained that they had erected and kept their schools going for many years and that it would be wrong to deny them the right to teach their own particular religious principles. There was also the fear that the “simple Bible teaching” carried out in the “godless schools” would result in a steady decline in religion.

The following statistics of the income of voluntary schools in 1890 will show the relative positions:—

	Grant	.....	Fees
Nonconformist Schools	£5590	.....	£4359
Church Schools	£2695	.....	£2241
Roman Catholic Schools	£ 951	.....	£ 611

In 1891 the basis on which grants were paid to schools was radically changed. All schools had to teach the three “R’s”; 10s. was granted for each scholar making 200 attendances in the year, block grants of 2s. to 1s. were made for “discipline” in schools, a 1s. for each pupil singing “by note” and 6d. “by ear,” class grants for any two subjects taken from English (parsing and analysis, literature, essay writing), Geography, History, Needlework, Science, and Drawing, with an extra 2s. a pupil in upper standards taking algebra, physiology, or French; to all these was added a block grant of 10s. a pupil, irrespective of ability and attendance. The maximum grant for a scholar amounted to £1 7s. 6d. but this sum did not meet the average cost of £2 0s. 6d. a scholar. Voluntary schools could not therefore afford to abolish school fees entirely but were able to reduce them. When Abel Street and Burnley Wood Board Schools had been opened, the managers of the voluntary schools complained that nearly all the £9,000 (product of a 7d. rate) was spent on the Board Schools though the voluntary schools taught two-thirds of the school children of Burnley. To make matters worse for the struggling church and nonconformist schools the Code of 1891 insisted on the erection of a “free” school in every district.

In 1894 petitions for “free” education were sent to the School Board by the inhabitants of Wood Top, Stoneyholme, Accrington Road, Gannow and Rosegrove. The managers of many of the nonconformist voluntary schools, realising that the erection of more Board Schools would inevitably

ruin their own "fee-paying" schools, therefore closed them and leased the buildings to the School Board to be used as "free" schools until more modern premises could be built. In this way, Ebenezer, Westgate, North Street, Rosegrove Wesleyan and Accrington Road Wesleyan Schools were taken over by the School Board until Stoneyholme (1896), Rosegrove (1898) and Coal Clough (1900) had been erected.

The school population rose from 6,000 in 1871, 11,500 in 1881, 17,000 in 1891, to 18,000 in 1901, at which figure it remained constant for many years. Churches and chapels made strenuous efforts to provide schools that were necessary for the increasing numbers, but after 1890, as seen above, competition with the free board schools forced many of the nonconformist schools to close. Perhaps because the religious teaching as given in Board Schools was insufficient or unacceptable to the Church of England, national schools were continued in spite of the disadvantage of having little aid from the rates. Bethesda (Congregational) 1851-6, Hammerton Street (Primitive Methodist) 1870-3, and Salem (Congregational) 1863-76 Schools were closed through lack of support; the Wesleyans, who already possessed Red Lion Street and Fulfilled Schools, erected Rosegrove 1873 (closed 1898), Bartle Hills 1874 (closed 1876), Accrington Road 1876 (taken over by the School Board 1895 and closed 1904); the United Methodist erected Brunswick 1876 (closed 1891), Gannow 1875 (closed 1900), Claremont 1889 (taken over 1894 and closed 1927); the Baptists erected Ebenezer 1870 (taken over 1894 and closed 1904), North Street 1879 (taken over 1898 and closed 1904); the Congregationalists erected Westgate 1863 (taken over 1895 and closed 1900); the Church of England added to their existing schools Wood Top 1873, Healey Wood 1884, and St. John's 1890 (closed 1927). The Roman Catholics had the boys' and the girls' Schools at St. Mary's and the Burnley Wood Infants, and erected St. Thomas' School 1876 and St. John's School 1893; a new boys' and girls' School was erected at St. Mary's in 1885 and a new Infants' School in 1895. The new Board Schools were Abel Street 1891, Burnley Wood 1892, Stoneyholme 1896, Rosegrove 1898, Coal Clough 1900, Heasandford 1903 and Hargher Clough 1904.

Schools suffered not only from a desire to keep down the cost of education but also from a lack of trained teachers. In fact, although Sir James Phillips Kay Shuttleworth had established the Battersea Training College in 1840, it was many years before the country realised its value. An entrant into the teaching profession was usually 13 years of age and passed the first year as a "candidate," receiving a salary of £5; after his probationary year, he became an indentured "pupil teacher"

for four, and later three, years, with a salary rising from £12 10s. 0d. to £20 a year. The candidates and pupil teachers in each school were coached by the headmaster before morning school but the success of special Saturday classes in Wood Top School resulted in the inauguration about 1890 of a Pupil Teachers' Centre which the young teachers attended for whole mornings or whole afternoons. At the end of the apprenticeship years, the teacher sat for the Queen's Scholarship Examination, and, if successful, became an "Ex-P.T." and studied for the "Certificate" at a training college in order to qualify as a "Trained Certificated Teacher," or he remained at home, teaching and studying for the same examination to become an "Untrained Certificated Teacher." In 1880 special "certificate classes" were started at St. Paul's School. In all schools there were also a number of "supplementary" teachers, who were "healthy women above 18 years of age who had no academic qualifications." The salaries of teachers were very low but after 1891 when the demand for teachers to fill posts in Board Schools became larger, the School Board had to offer increased scales of remuneration, so that in one school, the headmaster received £175, the male trained certificated teacher £80-£120, a female "Ex-P.T." £45-£50, a supplementary teacher £25, and a girl candidate £6 10s. 0d.

Many years passed before any noticeable change was made in the principles underlying the educational system; if children at each stage in their school life could reach a certain standard in reading, writing, and arithmetic, attend regularly and behave reasonably well, then the school was regarded as having fulfilled all its functions. Little attention was paid to the methods adopted to reach proficiency, however unsatisfactory they might be. In time, training colleges began to exert a powerful influence on the course of education. Students returned to Burnley, often to take charge of a school straight from college or within a year or two, and introduced schemes, some of which had not been officially sanctioned by the Board of Education. The Board, which could make or withhold grants, also began to press for a higher standard of attainment. In 1882 a Standard VII was added to each school so that for some children at any rate there was a possibility of extending their knowledge of the fundamentals of learning—reading, writing, and arithmetic. In 1890 more subjects were added to the school curriculum but, through fear of over-burdening the time-table and thereby endangering the teaching of the three R's, only two of the additional subjects might be taken in Standards I to V. One interesting feature of the 1890 Code was the introduction into the curriculum of woodwork, cookery and laundry-work, wherever arrangements could be made. The cookery classes which were started in 1892 in both Abel Street

and Burnley Wood Board Schools represented a great advance in local educational ideas. In 1897 most Burnley schools began to take "physical exercises" and "marching," generally on the army pattern as the first instructor was an ex-colour-sergeant. In 1898 woodwork was introduced and boys were sent either to the Technical School in Elizabeth Street or Rosegrove Board School for instruction. It was not until 1906 that organised games during school hours were allowed; they were played in the Parks or on the Recreation Grounds.

Infant-schools had meanwhile been established as separate departments with their own staffs. A great advance was made when kindergarten drawing, clay-modelling, paper cutting, and other occupational work were introduced.

After 1892 more and more attention was paid to the health of school children. In 1896 eyesight was tested by the teachers and those children found to have defective vision were sent for treatment; similarly a small school dental service was inaugurated.

The standard of work in Burnley schools compared very favourably with that in other parts of England, if one may judge from the Government grants which were based on proficiency and the average percentage attendance. In 1885 Fulfilled School with an average attendance of 1.076 earned £1 2s. 6d. per scholar, Red Lion Street with 674 earned £1 0s. 2d., Westgate with 308 earned 18s. 10½d.; the lowest Burnley grant was 13s. 1¼d. for a small school with 136 children. In 1888 when the average grant per scholar for all England was 17s. 2½d., Burnley's average was 18s. 11d.; Fulfilled in that year obtained £1 1s. 11d., Ebenezer £1 0s. 9d., Westgate £1. In 1883 Red Lion Street had the distinction of gaining a higher percentage of "passes" in the government examinations than any other school in England.

DAY SCHOOLS 1903-50.

The Education Act of 1902 brought important changes. It abolished the School Board and placed all schools under the "Education Committee" of the Borough Council; voluntary schools were supported out of the rates and fees were therefore abolished, the only burden on the managers being the maintenance and repair of the school buildings. As public money was now used to maintain Church Schools where Church doctrines were taught, nonconformists rose in revolt and many "passive resisters," as they were called, refused to pay the education rate and therefore had their goods sold or were imprisoned, in default.

Between 1903 and 1940 the following "Council" Schools were erected:—Heasandford 1903, Hargher Clough 1904, Todmorden Road 1908, Lionel Street 1927, Rosehill 1932, and Towneley 1940.

During the last fifty years a most determined effort has been made to work out an ideal system of education. There is, therefore, a very great contrast between the schools of 1900 and those of the present time, but, generally speaking, all changes have been introduced gradually and only after experience has proved their value. The limited school curriculum of 1900 was widened before 1910 by the introduction of history, geography, art (painting, model drawing, and geometrical design), music, nature study, physical training, organised games, swimming, and much more manual instruction, cookery and laundry work; by 1920 more equipment became available and the many better types of reading books gave a wider knowledge of history and literature; by 1940, the present wide range of school activities had become established.

The physical welfare of children is one of the chief aims of the modern educational system. As early as 1896, head teachers were asked to recommend children who might benefit from a medical and dental inspection. A school clinic was established, then the scheme became gradually more extensive, and eventually the present arrangements were inaugurated whereby routine medical inspections are carried out in all schools and reports made on the general health, teeth and eyesight of each child. A school "clog fund," maintained by voluntary subscriptions, was started in 1905 but with the coming of better social conditions and increased government assistance, the need for such an organisation disappeared. By the Relief Order of 1905, head teachers were requested to report all cases of underfed children to the Board of Guardians who were empowered to provide meals; the Provision of Meals Act of 1909 by which the Education Committee could provide meals for necessitous children was not at first adopted but help was given from a voluntary fund; later, centres were opened at which poor children could obtain meals, and within the last few years the provision of meals for all school children has become a feature of the educational system. With a view to protecting the health and morals of children, the Education Committee focussed its attention in 1908 on the employment of children in "out-of-school" hours and a report in that year showed that over 300 children were employed as milk boys, errand boys, newspaper boys and barbers' assistants; after some years, during which the evil was thoroughly investigated, regulations were made to prohibit such practices.

Soon after 1900 special schools for the blind and the deaf children were opened and these were followed by the formation of classes for sub-normal children; an open air school and a camp school have proved very beneficial to many children; classes for stammerers have been held since 1908.

An experiment made in 1900 to help mothers who went out to work, was the precursor of the modern nursery school. In that year a few children were allowed to play in an empty class room in one of the Board Schools; no toys were provided and there was little or no supervision, but the scheme was so successful that similar provision was made available in all parts of the town. Soon nursery classes were established and eventually the first nursery school was built in 1932.

One of the greatest problems that faced teachers and the Education Committee was the provision of adequate educational facilities in each school for Standards VI and VII. where numbers were always small because many children availed themselves of the opportunity to leave school after passing the qualifying examination for Standard V or by acquiring a qualifying attendance certificate. Since numbers were so small, the scholars in the two upper standards were often taught together and, in some cases, were linked up with a lower standard. Proposals to re-group all the senior scholars of the town were made in 1907 but were not adopted. Afterwards, the position of the upper standards became more critical owing to the raising of the school-leaving age to 14 years and the abolition of the half-time system which increased the number of children in the upper standards. It now became necessary to separate the older scholars from the younger in all schools and provide a specialised curriculum for them; this was made possible by the creation of "senior" schools. Such an arrangement foreshadowed the changes brought about by the Education Act of 1944 which regrouped all schools according to age, ability and personal preference. There are at present five nursery schools, 39 primary schools (junior and infants), two Technical High Schools, and six Secondary Modern Schools.

HIGHER EDUCATION 1850-1903.

Higher education during the period 1850-1903 was available at the Mechanics' and Church Institutes, the Grammar School, and, at the end of the period, at the Wesleyan Higher Grade School (Red Lion Street), at the School Board Higher Grade School and at the Pupil Teachers' Centre.

The Mechanics' Institute was founded in King Street in 1834 and provided on a self-help basis a small public library for working men, but in course of time and after leaving King Street and occupying various premises it expanded its activities by arranging public educational lectures and organising elementary classes in reading, writing, arithmetic, art and music. Most of the teachers were unpaid, and even paid teachers, such as Mr. T. T. Wilkinson, received only 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. a night. The new Mechanics' Institute buildings, opened in 1855, made possible a greater extension of the educational classes and soon the number of students exceeded all expectations.

Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth, the first Secretary of what became the Board of Education and is now the Ministry of Education, was keenly interested in the work at the Mechanics' and realised that it suffered from dependence on "teachers exhausted by six hours of instruction in day schools, on the voluntary exertions of ministers and other professional gentlemen, or on the aid of men with very humble qualifications who receive only from one to two shillings per night for such services." He therefore urged in 1856 the formation of "The East Lancashire Union of Institutes" which aimed at the spread of adult education by co-ordinating the work of classes in all Institutes within a ten mile radius of Burnley. The Mechanics' and the Church Institutes in Burnley were soon joined by similar organisations in Padiham, Lomeshaye, Bacup, Stacksteads, Haslingden and Crawshawbooth; by 1871, twenty Institutes and also local evening classes had joined the East Lancashire Union. The value of the new scheme was seen in the appointment of a well-paid, well-qualified "Organising Master," who appointed teachers, arranged classes in all affiliated Institutes, and himself taught the higher classes in Chemistry, Physics, and Physiology. Many of the teachers of the evening elementary classes were the best of the students who attended advanced classes in the day-time; their pay was £10 for 60 nights.

The cost of the scheme was met by Government grants, public subscriptions, students' fees, and grants from the Society of Arts, and, at a later time, from the City and Guilds. The subjects taught were mathematics, science, grammar, book-keeping, geography, drawing, reading, writing, dictation, and music; for an extra 10s. a quarter, French and German were taught. Prizes for the best results in the examinations of the South Kensington Departments of Science and Art were offered by the Union. In 1858 Sir James, who supervised the scheme, introduced an examination for women in domestic hygiene, domestic economy, the management of children, and sick nurs-

ing. The earliest organising masters were Mr. Clement 1856-64, Mr. Meadon 1864-5, Mr. A. Gunn and Mr. Shore 1865-72. An Art School was established at the Mechanics' in 1858 and soon classes were arranged in all Institutes affiliated to the Union. The art masters included Mr. Hale 1863-5, Mr. Pickup 1865-70 and Mr. Hey 1876-1912. Possibly the most successful student of the Mechanics' during its early period was Thomas Healey, grandson of Thomas Healey—the "Father of Burnley Music." In 1864 he won three national distinctions by being placed first in all England in algebra, second in chemistry, and second in mensuration, in the South Kensington examinations. In the following year he became the gold medallist for animal physiology and was described as "the most proficient candidate in the Three Kingdoms"; at the same time the Government reported "Burnley is one of the six most successful towns in the British Isles in the May examinations." Thomas Healey rounded off his brilliant examination results by gaining, in open competition, the Prince Consort's Prize for Music. In 1866 he was appointed to the staff of the Science and Art Department of South Kensington and by 1872 had become an examiner for that body.

In 1872 the East Lancashire Union of Institutes was merged into the "Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Institutes" and in 1880 the Mechanics' became affiliated with the City and Guilds of London Institute. From this time the educational work of the Mechanics' forged ahead. Evening elementary classes in almost every subject, including needlework and "cutting-out," were exceptionally well attended; Science and Art classes for elementary and advanced students were held in chemistry, physiology, geology, physics, mechanics, solid geometry, and building construction; "Special" classes in French, vocal music, shorthand, and practical chemistry, attracted large numbers of students. The Art School was held in a new building erected in 1880 by Alderman Scott at his own cost of £1,500; there were five teachers, 25 day students and 120 evening students. A notable advance in the history of education in Burnley was made in 1880 when "technical" classes were started in cotton, engineering, iron, and agriculture. Branches of the Mechanics' classes began in 1882 in Ebenezer School and also at Padiham, Briercliffe, Higham, Worsthorne, Huncoat, Sabden, and Nelson; some of these were discontinued or taken over by a local body, but other branches were formed in 1887 at Habergham and Lane Head. Numbers of students rose from 434 in 1872, 1,326 in 1889, to 1,660 in 1892. In 1892 there were 132 classes taking 90 subjects for which the Government grant amounted to £748. Extra accommodation was made possible by the erection of a new wing to the Mechanics' in 1888.

Among the teachers who inspired the work of the technical, science and art classes were James Holmes and Ernest Evans. Mr. Holmes was in charge of the textile department and there is little doubt that his skill and genius had much to do with the high standard of the town's main industry. Mr. Evans was brilliant in the subjects he taught—geology, physiography, mining, and, above all, botany and zoology. Both of them were exceptionally skilful in imparting their great knowledge to others. To give further encouragement to the students the Directors of the Mechanics' offered an annual scholarship of £50, tenable at a university. Among the winners were J. E. Duerden, later a lecturer at Dublin College, Professor of Zoology at Michigan University and Professor at Rhodes University, Cape Town; James H. Ashworth, later Professor of Natural History, Edinburgh University; also James Whittaker, later a "Whitworth Scholar" and official at Woolwich Arsenal. Many students won open scholarships to universities and to the South Kensington Colleges, e.g. Watson Crossley, a weaver, won a Royal Exhibition; T. Eastwood, a weaver, gained an open scholarship in natural science and became a lecturer at Hartley University College, Southampton. The Art School was also very successful and in 1890 W. E. Holt won in open competition one of five gold medals for a design for printed cotton; in the same year, other students of the Burnley Art School won four of the 132 bronze medals.

The educational work of the Mechanics' had become so important and had increased to such an extent that in 1886 the Directors contemplated building a separate Technical School and for that purpose bought a plot of land at the rear of the Town Hall. The Corporation, however, required the land for the extension of their own buildings so that the Directors were reluctantly compelled to sell the land to the Borough Council. Instead of the new buildings they had hoped to erect, they added a new wing to the Mechanics' in 1888.

Unfortunately, the income from grants, donations, subscriptions and fees did not cover the heavy expenses of the increasing number of technical and advanced science courses. Moreover, the elementary classes in the three R's and other rudimentary subjects, once so well-attended and a profitable source of income, were given up in 1890 as being redundant and too expensive, seeing that scholars stayed longer at the elementary schools or continued their education at the evening classes at their old schools. In 1890 there was a net loss of £468 on all classes and the Directors therefore asked the Town Council to make a grant of £500 to enable the work to continue; such a sum, the product of a 1d. rate, could legally be made for Technical education, over which the School Board had no

control. The Council granted £400 but insisted that the Technical classes should be controlled by a committee representative of the Mechanics', Town Council and School Board. There was some talk at the time of building a new Technical and Science School, and even of founding a University College in Burnley, but all that was done in 1892 was to take over the Elizabeth Street buildings, alter them at a cost of £3,000, and there establish the new Technical School. The Council raised the grant to £1,000 in 1894 and, with more equipment, a remarkably high standard was reached in all subjects. In 1901 the Directors of the Mechanics' surrendered the control of all their classes to the Town Council and withdrew from all joint committees.

The Church of England Literary Institution was established in 1848. From the beginning, elementary classes were held in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, history, geography, scripture, drawing and needlework. The teaching was largely voluntary and among the enthusiasts were Mr. W. M. Grant, Mr. L. Ashworth, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Bell, and the curates of the parish church. When the East Lancashire Union of Institutes was formed in 1856, the voluntary teachers still continued their work with the elementary classes, but, with the help of paid teachers, additional classes were started in building construction, mechanical drawing, physiology, practical and theoretical chemistry. The fees were 4s. 6d. a year for juniors, 10s. 6d. for seniors, or £1 for full membership of the Institute. Numbers in attendance in 1863 were 224 and in 1874 162 when it was reported that classes were declining in number because many were attending the evening classes held in elementary schools. By 1882 the numbers had fallen to 103 and were still lower in 1886. In the following year, the classes were discontinued.

A great deal of interest was paid in 1883 to a suggestion made by the Board of Education that Burnley should establish "a central advanced elementary school" which should be graded and charge a fairly high school-fee. Nothing was done by the School Board but in 1888 the Wesleyans opened a Higher Grade School for Girls in connection with the Red Lion Street School. The fees were 9d. a week for Standards I to III and 1s. for Standards IV to VII; there were 110 scholars at the opening. The School quickly established itself and soon began to attract attention by the thoroughness of its education, its modern teaching methods and the great care paid to the development of character. It ranked as high in public regard as did Mr. Grant's School for Boys. The scholars who usually belonged to the better-class families, were drawn not only from Burnley but from districts as far distant as Accrington and Colne. The first headmistress was Miss Hargreaves, and

she was succeeded by Miss Walker. It was under Miss Dodgeon, L.L.A. that the school really built up its great reputation, for she was a most enthusiastic teacher and made many visits to the Continent to study new educational methods which might be introduced into her school. A Higher Grade School for Boys was begun at Red Lion Street in 1893 and charged 6d. a week for each scholar. It does not seem to have achieved the success that attended the Girls' Higher Grade School. Both Schools closed down about 1900 largely owing to the action of the Board of Education which withdrew grants from such institutions. In 1897 the School Board established a Higher Grade School in the Mechanics' for both boys and girls; it charged an annual fee of £1.

Thus in 1903 when the Town Council assumed control of all education in Burnley, higher education was available in the Technical School (Elizabeth Street), in the Science and Art classes in the Mechanics, and in the Higher Grade School, also housed in the Mechanics'. During the session 1903-4, 1,617 students attended the technological, science and art classes, and 110 attended the Higher Grade School in the Mechanics'; in addition, there were 146 pupils at the Pupil Teachers' Centre and approximately 1,500 in the evening continuation schools.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION 1903-50.

A Joint Committee of the School Board and the Borough Council was set up in 1902 to prepare the way for the assumption of complete control in 1903 by the Education Committee of the Council. Free Entrance Scholarships were awarded to establish a closer connection between, 1. the Elementary Schools and the Grammar School, 2. the Elementary Schools and the Higher Grade School, and 3. the Evening Schools and the Science, Art and Technological classes in the Mechanics' and the Technical School.

The standard of work in all schools continued to be remarkably high. Thirty-five National Scholarships, Royal Exhibitions, and Local Science and Art Exhibitions were awarded to Burnley students during a period of seven years, 1902-9; 24 of the successful students were textile operatives. An average number of 20 Burnley students were in attendance each year at the Royal Colleges of Science and Art during 1901-9, and in 1906 all the three National Scholarships for Geology were won by students from the Municipal Technical School, the name given to the classes in Elizabeth Street and the Mechanics' Institute. The classes in these buildings were continued until 1909 when the Technical School and the School of Art were transferred to the new buildings in Ormerod Road.

The Higher Grade School was started in 1897 by the School Board. The first headmaster was Mr. A. Stephens; he was succeeded by Mr. T. Crossland, who also held the position of Principal of the Pupil Teachers' Centre. Pupils of the Higher Grade School attended the specialised science and art classes at the Mechanics', and when these were abolished in 1906 it was possible to introduce a more liberal and evenly balanced curriculum of a true secondary school nature. The school was closed in 1910, the boys being transferred to the Grammar School and the girls to the new High School.

The Pupil Teachers' Centre began about 1889 and was first held in the Co-operative Rooms, then in Bethesda School, and finally in the Mechanics' Institute; it prepared pupil teachers for the Board of Education qualifying examinations for the teaching profession. Many students, however, matriculated and proceeded to a university; some gained university scholarships, and many others did well in the "Scholarship" examinations taken at the end of their fourth year. Mr. Entwistle was the first headmaster and he was followed in 1893 by Mr. Lord. Mr. T. Crossland succeeded in 1901 and re-organised the school. In 1905 the minimum age for entry into the teaching profession was raised from 14 to 16 years and therefore the Centre became a dual institution attended by full-time students aged 14—16 who were desirous of becoming teachers and by half-time students who practised in the schools as pupil teachers either mornings or afternoons. "Certificate" classes for those who had passed the Scholarship Examination and did not wish to go to college were held in the evenings. The Centre owed much of its success to Mr. G. A. Wood, M.A., Mr. A. C. Boyd, M.A., Mr. A. Levens, B.A., and Miss Rawcliffe. The pupil teacher system was abolished in 1911 and the principle of student teachers was introduced; that has now given way to the bursary system.

The whole scheme of secondary education in Burnley which had given such excellent results was marred by two defects—the existing buildings were very unsatisfactory and so inadequate that accommodation was strictly limited, and there was no satisfactory provision for the secondary education of girls. Accordingly the Education Committee decided in 1905 to erect a large up-to-date building in Ormerod Road which would serve as Technical School, School of Art, and High School for Girls.

The Technical School made considerable progress in its new home and within a short time the textile, mining, engineering, science and commercial departments attracted

large numbers of day students as well as hundreds of evening students. At the present time it provides not only a vocational training and a general education for trade-apprentices, young textile and mine workers, clerks, etc., but also teaches to university degree standard those students who require special qualifications in their professions.. The first Principal was Mr. Thomas Crossland. He retired in 1920 and was succeeded by Mr. W. Munn Rankin, who inspired the work for twenty years and saw the School become the Municipal College. The present Principal is Dr. A. E. Wales.

The School of Art has carried on the traditions of the earlier School and has achieved considerable success. Many National Scholarships to the Royal College of Arts have been gained and special courses in textile designing, advertising, etc. have been exceptionally valuable to local industries, while the ordinary courses have developed the artistic abilities of students and increased the appreciation of art and beauty in the town as a whole. The following have been in charge of the School of Art since 1909:— Mr. W. H. Hey 1909-12, Mr. W. Parkinson 1912-20, Mr. W. M. Whitehead 1920-39, and the present Principal, Mr. Harold Thornton.

The High School for Girls was founded in 1910. Private schools for girls had existed in Burnley for many years but the best of them charged such high fees that only the children of wealthy parents could afford to attend them, while the worst of them lacked teachers, equipment and accommodation. The Higher Grade School, housed in unsatisfactory buildings, could take only 250 boys and girls, and the admission of girls to the Grammar School in 1903 hardly satisfied the need. The demand for a good secondary school for girls was therefore a matter of importance. After some consideration, the Education Committee decided that provision for a High School for Girls must be made in the new buildings in Ormerod Road, and that girls from the Higher Grade School and the Grammar School should be transferred. For a year or two, the joint use of the same building by three separate institutions presented no insuperable difficulty but after a time it became obvious that the expansion of one department could only be made at the expense of the others, while the difficulties of the High School were increased by the presence of so many adult students in the building. Within the last year, the building of a new High School has been begun. The first Principal was Miss L. J. Wood, M.A. On her retirement in 1930 she was succeeded by the present Principal, Miss D. D. Howard, M.A. There are now 478 pupils in the school.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

The era of the "dame school" was brought to a close by the establishment of 'voluntary' day schools which provided a much better education. Many parents, however, did not wish their children to be subject to the harsh discipline and crowded conditions in the new schools and consequently there sprang up a number of private schools which endeavoured to cater for the needs of the children of better class parents. These schools varied considerably in educational value; some were quite good but most of them did not manage to survive for more than a year or two.

In 1858 Mr. P. Graham took over Mr. T. T. Wilkinson's "Mount Pleasant Academy" and taught "the higher branches of knowledge" to boys, and "drawing, embroidery and French to young ladies." He was succeeded in 1863 by Mr. J. Holgate and Mrs. E. Nichol who concentrated on commercial subjects. Possibly the same school, known as "The Classical, Mathematical and Commercial School," was re-opened in 1869 by Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Osborne who continued until 1873. Fees ranged from four to six guineas a year for day scholars while boarders were accommodated for 28 guineas a year.

In 1863 Miss Bond opened "The West End Day and Boarding School" in Cuerden Terrace, Accrington Road. Later, she was joined by her brother and together they opened in 1875 the "Collegiate School" in Palatine Square: the Accrington Road school was retained for younger children. The "Collegiate School" was recognised as a "Centre" of the College of Preceptors, and was subject to inspection by Dublin University; it gave a very good education, if one may judge by the excellent examination results. In addition to the usual subjects, it taught Greek, Latin, French, and "Calisthenics." In 1883 the proprietors, opened a larger school at Windermere and left the conduct of their Burnley Schools to a mistress: they were closed in 1888.

Two other "Day and Boarding Schools," one in Fulledge kept by Miss Dall 1859, and the other in Ormerod Street in charge of Miss Dunkerley 1863 do not seem to have had a long existence. Jane, Ann, and Mary Robinson's school in Well House, Church Street, specialised in embroidery, though a lawsuit showed that much of the school's exhibited work was done by the lady proprietors. Miss Garner's "School for Young Ladies" 1863 in Holt Street. Mrs. Edmondson's school 1866 near the Parsonage in Accrington Road, Miss Evans' "School for Young Ladies and Young Gentlemen under nine" 1869 in

Elizabeth Street, Miss Dickens' "Young Ladies' Seminary" 1873 in Hargreaves Street, and Mrs. Brown's school in 1873 in Piccadilly Road, apparently had little success.

"Grant's School" in Carlton Road ranks as one of the finest private schools that has ever existed in Burnley. Mr. William Milner Grant came to Burnley in 1841 to take charge of St. Peter's School and here he showed his devotion to duty, giving all his energies to educate his scholars in secular matters and instill in them the principles of Christianity. In 1859 his health began to fail as a result of his arduous work and the imperfect ventilation of the ill-planned school. A removal from St. Peter's to better premises became imperative if his life, so important to the town generally, was to be preserved. Former scholars, the managers of the school, students at the Church Institute (where he taught several nights each week from 7-30 to 10 without monetary reward), and many other inhabitants of Burnley presented Mr. Grant with a sum of money which enabled him to build a "Middle-class School" in Carlton Road. The school never claimed to prepare scholars for examination but the teaching given was always thorough. As a training ground for the development of "character," few schools have ever equalled it for the headmaster constantly inculcated in his scholars a love of duty, truth, virtue, respect for tradition, consideration for older people, good manners and a strict code of behaviour. Judged by present-day standards, his methods were harsh and punishments were too frequent and severe, but his scholars not only respected but loved him. Mr. Grant was a strong churchman (though not an anglo-catholic), a temperance advocate, a conservative in politics, and an ardent patriot; his national heroes were Pitt the Younger and Wellington. At his funeral in 1888, hundreds of his old pupils showed their love by joining the procession to St. Peter's and later by subscribing to establish a scholarship at the Grammar School as a memorial to his great work in Burnley. The School was continued for some years by Mr. T. Midgeley and later by Mr. G. P. Ashworth.

Towards the end of the 19th century the number of private schools decreased. A "Middle Class School," started by Mr. A. Bellingham in 1890 in the Colne Road Wesleyan School, had some good successes in the South Kensington examinations; it was taken over by Mr. W. E. Scholfield 1896-8 and then by Miss Berry 1898-1906. Miss Wilman's private school 1882-96 was held at first at Prospect Place and afterwards at Oakmount; it appears to have been taken over in 1896 by Miss Smallpage who renamed it "The High School for Girls" and transferred it to Miss Pendleton. Another "Ladies' School" in Westgate was conducted by the Misses Everson. Mention

should also be made of Mrs. Stroyan's "Academy" at the bottom of Brunshaw. Here, from 1885-96, the widow of the late minister at Bethesda kept a girls' school which concentrated more on character-building and learning than on deportment and accomplishments; her work was long remembered by her scholars. During the last fifty years, private schools have been few in number. For some years, Mr. and Mrs. Elsdon carried on a school at Rydal Mount, Manchester Road, for the children of professional men. It failed in 1920 and soon afterwards Miss Birtwistle opened a school at Ebenezer. This proved so successful that more suitable premises were taken at Sunny Bank, Manchester Road, where it still continues under another Principal.

The art of "Penmanship," so dear to people of the 19th century, was taught 1859-63 by Mr. and Mrs. Smart; when they left Burnley to set up schools in London and Manchester, tuition was carried on by an assistant one day a week in the Mechanics' 1863-95. Another school of "Penmanship and Commercial Subjects" was opened in 1884 by Mr. Alston. His school became in 1889 a "Middle Class School" for children aged 7—14 and was held in Brunswick School. This school is also in existence under a different proprietor and with a different policy.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL 1850-1950.

The Grammar School which was situated in 1850 almost opposite its present site, continued to function under its original foundation scheme until 1870 when it was brought under the partial control of the Borough Council. This change was largely due to lack of funds. Already before 1860 the Governors had been compelled to sell some of the endowments to meet current expenses and the income of £300 from the remaining property and £250 from school fees was barely sufficient to meet ordinary expenses, much less to warrant the erection of new school premises which had become necessary.

The old school was dilapidated and far too small. In 1855 the Governors considered erecting two schools for £3,500 but abandoned the scheme on account of the estimated cost. In 1860 they suggested rebuilding the old school on the same site but when the Town Commissioners insisted on a footpath which would reduce the size of the proposed new building, the Governors were reluctantly compelled to put forward an alternative plan to build one or two small classrooms and a separate school for children aged six to nine years. Promises of money amounting to £900 were made by friends of the

school to carry out the proposals but, once more, the scheme was withdrawn. In 1866 the Borough Council offered to make a grant of £2,500 for a new school if three seats on the Governing Body were allocated to the Council, a condition which the Governors were unwilling to accept. A very adverse report on the school buildings made in 1868 by one of the Government Inspectors brought matters to a crisis and a petition was sent by the Borough Council to the Charity Commissioners asking that the Governing Body of the Grammar School should be reconstituted and that a scheme should be prepared for the erection of a new school.

In 1871 the Governing Body was reconstituted and for the first time since 1559 the Governors were no longer able to control the membership of their select body. In return however for financial assistance, they admitted representatives of the Council and School Board to their numbers. During the period 1873-99 there were a number of life governors, of whom the following were important:— Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, Lord Shuttleworth, General Scarlett, Rev. Wm. Thursby, Thomas Hordern Whitaker, Rev. A. Master Whitaker, Col. Sir. J. H. Thursby, and Sir J. O. S. Thursby. In 1909 the Borough Council obtained complete control of the School for it was given "the full rights to the care, management and control of all property now or hereafter belonging to the foundation and shall administer . . . its subsidiary endowments." Under the new constitution the Council appointed a number of its own members and co-opted a number of others to serve as Governors; among the co-opted members were Lord Shuttleworth, Lady O'Hagan and Sir J. O. S. Thursby.

The old school, which had been erected in 1683, was closed in 1871. On the last morning, Dr. Butler, the Headmaster, read out the names of the 481 boys whom he had taught there during thirty years, commented on the more famous of them, exhibited the 1,050 books and manuscripts in the old Library, and then, after a service, dismissed the school and locked the door, on which he wrote the word "Resurgam." During the interval between the closing of the old and the opening of the new school, classes were held in the Church Institute. The Library was housed in the old Fire Station with unfortunate results to some of the books.

Before building could begin in what had been a garden attached to "Brownhill," three or four cottages had to be cleared away, a road joining Bank Parade and Fenkel Street had to be closed, and School Lane, a narrow, steep, and muddy pathway, had to be considerably widened. The new school, represented by the block of stone buildings facing

Bank Parade cost about £4,000 and was built on land donated by Col. J. Hargreaves. It was opened on August 1st 1874 and was said to be "well lighted with a ventilated chemistry laboratory, a physics laboratory, a refectory and art room" with "ample space for recreation and a fives court." In 1901 additional classrooms were erected to accommodate a larger number of boys and, for the first time for many years, a number of girls. In 1910 the girls were transferred to the new High School, and boys from the Higher Grade School were transferred to the Grammar School. In 1934 two new classrooms and cloakrooms were built but, at the present time (1950), the scholars have to find additional accommodation in Ebenezer School, the Municipal College, and St. James' School.

The following statistics show the number of scholars in attendance:— 1844—27; 1854—18; 1860—55; 1871—53; 1890—104; 1900—100; 1920—273; 1935—482; 1940—471; at the present time there are over 500 scholars. Between 1850 and 1871 the fees were four guineas a year for boys under ten years of age and six guineas for boys over that age. In 1874 the fees were raised to eight guineas for all boys and were again increased to nine guineas a little later. A reduction was made in 1899 to four guineas for boys living within the Borough and to eight guineas for those living outside the Borough. Some years ago fees payable were made to depend on the income of the parents, but under the Act of 1944 all school fees have been abolished.

It is generally supposed that up to 1871 the curriculum of the school was classical but there is much evidence to show that great attention was also paid to other studies. An examination paper set by Mr. Raws in 1829 contained the following:— Class III (under the age of nine): Recite Whitehead's "Youth and Philosopher," Shakespeare's "Speech of Brutus" and "Hamlet's Speech to the Players," and Answer the following:— "How many changes can be rung on the bells of St. Peter's," and "How many times does a wheel 17' 5½" in circumference turn round between Burnley and Colne": Class II (under age of 11): Repeat the whole of Murray's Grammar and Beattie's "The Hermit": Class I (over the age of 11): Repeat one of Lord Chatham's Speeches and Cunningham's "Day"; write a theme on "We ought to study men as well as books"; prove the fallacy of the Hypotheses of Ptolemy"; recite the "Laws of Kepler"; and explain "Bradley's recent discoveries in Astronomy." Dr. Butler 1842-71 certainly inculcated a love for literature and gave a great deal of time to the study of French. In 1868, of the 51 boys in attendance only 25 took Latin and five took Greek; the others studied only English subjects and a visiting master (the organising master



The Centre (1934).

of the East Lanes. Union of Institutes) taught chemistry and natural philosophy; the examiners considered that the teaching of mathematics, chemistry, geology and all other subjects "of a sound commercial education" should be developed. Consequently the new school was equipped with the finest chemistry laboratory in Burnley and was open to students from the Mechanics', while the Governors insisted that Grammar School boys should give more time to scientific studies and less to Latin and Greek. Classics however were still taught and in 1874 Class I studied Cicero's "De Amicitia" and Vergil's "Aeneid IV" while Class II concentrated on Caesar's "Bello Gallico IV." During the last fifty years the pendulum has swung first to one group of studies and then to another, but at present a balance between all subjects is held and Classics, Modern Languages, Modern Studies, and Science all find a place in the curriculum.

The first recorded "Annual Sports" occurred in 1871 and took the form of a few foot races followed by a cricket match between parents and boys. By 1885 the activities of "Sports' Day" were confined to foot races, hurdles and jumps with other races under the well known names of three-legged, blindfold, stilts, egg-and-spoon, hop-step-jump, obstacle, blind donkey, and slow bicycle. Since 1923 the "house system" has been followed in all forms of school sports. The first public "Speech Day" was held in 1874; among the speakers before 1900 were General Scarlett, Lord Shuttleworth, Lord O'Hagan, Lord Norreys, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, and Sir Thomas Hughes, Q.C. (author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*). Since 1926 Founders' Day has been celebrated annually in St. Peter's Church.

HEADMASTERS.

1842-73 James Butler, M.A., D.C.L.

1874-77 Joseph Hough, M.A., F.R.A.S.

1877-97 J. Langfield Ward, M.A.

1897-1925 Henry Lincoln Joseland, M.A. (Camb), B.A. (Lond.).

1925-31 A. A. C. Burton, M.A. (Oxon.), B.A. (Lond.).

1931-37 Arthur W. Fletcher, M.A. (Cantab.).

1937-44 J. C. E. Wren, M.A. (Durham), B.Sc. (Lond.).

1945- H. Hewitt, M.A. (Cantab.).

Some information has already been given about the Rev. James Butler. It may be added that the Doctorate in

Civil Law was conferred on him in 1865 by the University of Oxford and that all expenses in connection with the degree were borne by the "Old Boys" of the Grammar School. His salary as Headmaster was so low that in 1869 the Town Council petitioned the Duchy of Lancaster to grant him an incumbency which he might hold in conjunction with his headmastership. He retired on a small pension to Glooston Rectory, Market Harborough.

Mr. Joseph Hough was born in Leeds in 1852. As a young man, he showed great interest in astronomy and his ability was rewarded when Lord Wrottesley gave him full charge of a private observatory. In 1867 he entered Sydney Sussex College, and there obtained his degree. In 1872 he became science master at Rossall School and two years later was appointed Headmaster of the Grammar School. In Burnley he was noted for his learning and kindly disposition. In 1877 he retired to Codsall in Staffordshire.

Mr. J. L. Ward was a late Scholar and Prizeman of Pembroke College, Greek Testament Prizeman 1870, 33rd Wrangler and Third Class in the Classical and Moral Science Triposes 1871, and Le Bas University Prizeman 1873. His scholarship had a great influence both on the school and the town. He came to Burnley when literary and scientific studies were taking root and there is little doubt that Mr. Ward's support and encouragement had much to do with their success. As a teacher, he inspired a love for the best literature both in Classics and Modern Languages; as a master, his strictness was always tempered with justice.

Mr. H. L. Joseland came to Burnley from Manchester Grammar School where he had been mathematics master. His dignity, punctiliousness, and strictness never failed to impress the school while his scholarly attainments, great capacity for work, and dislike for incompetence earned the respect and admiration of all who came under his influence. He set a standard for thoroughness that has rarely been equalled.

Under the headmastership of Mr. Burton, larger numbers than ever were admitted, so that even the gymnasium was dismantled to become a class-room and other accommodation had to be found in neighbouring premises. An exceptionally strict discipline was maintained; a school uniform was introduced, and a daily P.T. for the whole school became a marked feature of school life. The curriculum showed a marked preference for classical studies. Mr. Fletcher, his successor, concentrated with great success on the building of

character and the development of the individual. His curriculum introduced more modern studies, and aimed at a general knowledge of a wider range of subjects. Under Mr. Hewitt, the present headmaster, the school maintains its excellent traditions, even though it is passing through a difficult transition period, brought about by the operation of the Education Act of 1944. The curriculum is wide and evenly balanced, and, in spite of grave difficulties arising from very inadequate accommodation, the school has this year achieved its finest examination results:— three State Scholarships; one Open Major Scholarship at Durham University; one Lancashire County Major Scholarship; three Burnley "University Scholarships"; and thirty-five full Higher School certificates. The latter included eleven "distinctions" in Principal subjects and eight "excellents" in Scholarship papers.

CHAPTER XI.

Benevolent and Cultural Societies.

No large-scale concerted effort to alleviate sickness and suffering was made in Burnley until the later years of the 19th century. Individual churches and chapels had their own Benevolent Societies, Sick Societies and Town Missions which distributed money, food and clothing to the sick and distressed; the Ladies' Relief Committee, founded in 1820, continued to care for women in child-birth; the Friendly Societies, represented by the United Oddfellows, the Independent Oddfellows, the Foresters, the Druids, the Ancient Shepherds, and the Hearts of Oak saw to the welfare of their subscribing members; Trade Unions had their sick clubs; yet still, the real problem of providing medicine and medical attention for all the sick and poor remained unsolved for many years. It was hoped that the solution had been found when the Burnley Dispensary was opened in Prospect Terrace in August 1850, for here, medical services and medicines were available to the very poor. The Dispensary was started and maintained by subscriptions and donations but its expenses soon exceeded the income. In 1852, for example, the cost of medicine and medical services for 358 out-patients and attendance on 316 patients in their own homes amounted to £236, but the income of £248 (including subscriptions of £129, collections in churches and chapels of £39, and a balance of £70 from 1851) did not leave much to carry on the work of the next year. Though one or two concerts were arranged, hopes of greater financial support were not realised and the Dispensary had to close down in June 1854.

Some years later Mr. S. Howard formed the intention of building a hospital near Holy Trinity Church but for a variety of reasons, the scheme did not materialise. The next to take action was the Rev. Robert Giles, Vicar of St. Matthew's who tried to rouse interest in the establishment of a hospital to serve the whole town; that project failed and Mr. Giles called a meeting on October 21st 1882 to consider the possibility of founding a cottage-hospital for his own parish. At the meeting, Dr. Brown of Bank Parade urged the necessity for the larger scheme and the Mayor was asked to call a town's meeting to discuss the whole position. A great deal of enthusiasm was shown for the proposal to found a town hospital, and a committee was formed with John Butterworth as chairman, Joshua Rawlinson as hon. secretary, and N. P. Grey as hon. treasurer. It was thought that the old militia barracks, which could be bought for £6,000, might be taken over as a suitable building,

but doctors and others urged the erection of new premises for the hospital. Subscriptions began to pour in:—Abram Altham £1,725, Rev. Wm. Thursby, John Butterworth, and Miss Barnes £1,000 each, Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, Thomas Brooks, J. T. Dugdale, Messrs. Tunstall, W. Ecroyd, B. Thornber, and the late Joseph Graham £500 each, and the Duke of Buccleugh £300; the weavers and spinners raised over £1,000. Eventually the total reached £12,839, the Rev. Wm. Thursby gave three acres as a site for the hospital, the first sod was cut in March 1884 and the foundation stone was laid by Colonel John Thursby on May 24th 1884.

The "Victoria Hospital," as it was called, represented the greatest voluntary united effort that Burnley had ever made. Political, social and religious differences were laid aside to bring about this much needed reform, so that, when H.R.H. Prince Albert Victor opened the building on October 13th 1886, the whole town gave itself over to celebrating the occasion. Streets were decorated with flags, streamers and flowers, three electric lights of 6,000 candle power surmounted an archway in Manchester Road, a medal was struck, and a holiday was given in mills and workshops that all might share in the rejoicing and cheer the royal visitor.

At first the hospital had only two wards—the Thursby and the Butterworth Wards, but in 1890 a children's ward was made possible by more donations and subscriptions amounting to £4,580. On May 24th 1890 Mrs. Altham, Mrs. Ecroyd, and Lady O'Hagan laid the foundation stones of the new buildings which were formally opened as a Children's Ward in July 1891.

To meet the cost of larger extensions and modern equipment which could make it possible for the hospital to serve a wider area, the Committee had to rely on the generosity of the people. Almost every Institution and Society in the district gave contributions and subscriptions, and arranged collections in aid of the Hospital. In 1897 Colonel John Thursby and others made gifts of money to raise the foundation fund from £4,000 to £10,000 and later Lord Shuttleworth endowed a cancer research clinic. But in spite of the generous gifts and contributions made by rich and poor, the annual income barely sufficed to cover current expenses so that the work of extension was sadly curtailed. To provide a larger and more regular yearly revenue, the Burnley and District Workpeople's Hospital Fund was launched in 1926 at a town meeting summoned by the Mayor, Councillor James Sutcliffe. Under the original scheme, which was initiated by Mr. J. W. Driver, workers agreed to contribute a penny out of their wages, but during the thirties when so many were out of work, the employed workers agreed

to raise the weekly contribution to 2d. so that the Hospital should not suffer from a reduced income. In 1942 the subscription was raised to 4d. a week for those who wished for additional hospital benefits. When the fund closed in 1948, owing to the Hospital becoming part of the National Service Scheme, the total contributions amounted to £276,198; of this sum, £221,500 had been granted to the Victoria Hospital and nearly £16,000 to the Nursing Association; other grants had been made to two local branches of the St. John's Ambulance Association, convalescents, and other hospitals.

A "Society for Home-teaching and Help to the Blind" was founded in November 1882 to assist 58 blind persons living in Burnley; in the following month, a teacher was appointed and a school was opened in Fulledge. The movement was entirely voluntary and was supported by people of all classes. The Towneley and Shuttleworth families, Canon Parker and the Thursbys were keenly interested in the work and gave very great material aid. Welfare work was begun and a club-room was opened; in 1890 the first workshop was started in Eastwood Street (off Church Street) but was later transferred to Fulledge. The Society is now known as the "Burnley and District Society for the Blind" and at present looks after the welfare of 222 blind people living in Burnley and some 184 residing in the County area. Following the decisions of the Burnley Borough Council and the Lancashire County Council to use the Society for the promotion of welfare services for the local blind, the Society is now assured of the support of the local authorities.

An organisation to care for the deaf and dumb was started in 1889 by prominent members of the Burnley Rural Deanery. For several years a joint committee representing both Burnley and Blackburn controlled the Society and both towns contributed equally to maintain a salaried missionary who organised teaching (both manual and oral), and looked after the spiritual and social needs of those under his care. In 1895 the two sections of the Society separated and became individual bodies though they still continued to use the services of the same missionary. Finally in 1936 Burnley appointed its own organiser and missionary, Mr. Leslie Callin, and in the following year opened its present premises in Hebrew Road. Mr. J. B. Barker is the present missionary.

The meetings were originally held in St. James' School, but as the room there was somewhat comfortless, Canon Winfield, the President of the Society, allowed the members the use of a vestry for their social gatherings. Regular services, including Communion, were held in St. James' Church for those deaf and dumb people who found it difficult to follow the usual

church services. A move to Brown Street was made about 1900 but in 1906 the Society found a more permanent home in the Church Institute. Here, a small mission church was started, evening meetings for the members were held more frequently, and a billiards club was established. In its new premises the activities have been extended and much more welfare work has been undertaken.

Several bequests have been made to the Society, notably one of £2,000 made in 1895 by Mr. George Clayton of Burnley. The testator intended that the money should be used to provide a single Institute for the blind, the deaf and dumb, but as there was some vagueness about the names of the Societies mentioned in the will, litigation followed when Lady O'Hagan pleaded that the bequest should be shared with a Deaf and Dumb Society which she had founded to teach the "oral" method to Roman Catholics who might be afflicted. At the enquiry before the Court of Chancery, a decision was given against her claim. A further source of trouble lay in the fact that an Institute to serve both the blind and the deaf was considered impracticable; it was finally agreed that the bequest should be shared in the proportion of five-eighths for the blind and three-eighths for the deaf.

While provision was thus being made for the alleviation of physical suffering, attention was also being focussed on the more difficult problem of helping those young girls who were in moral danger from loneliness, unsatisfactory home-life, or undesirable pursuits. In May 1883 Lady Shuttleworth and Mrs. John Brown took up their case and founded a "Home for Friendless Girls," now known as the "House of Help." The first home was situated in Padiham Road, and, when this proved too small, a large house in Todmorden Road was taken. The work of rescue increased so much that a more permanent foundation was made at No. 60 Bank Parade where two deaconesses were put in charge; here, evening educational classes were held for girls living in the Bridge Street district and a small lending library was established. Four years later, No. 1 Raws Street was leased to give more accommodation. The House of Help is now in Colne Road and more suitable premises are being prepared in Todmorden Road. The work receives much of its inspiration from the Hon. Rachel Kay-Shuttleworth.

In 1888 a Roman Catholic Society, known as "The Congregation of our Lady Mother of Good Counsel" took over Fulfilledge House as a home for friendless girls. Lady O'Hagan was keenly interested in the work and paid the cost of the necessary alterations to the buildings. The Home was largely self-supporting and the girls were encouraged to help with laundry-work, needle-work, etc.

A Burnley Branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was established in 1888. It was a much needed institution, for the cases which the Society brought before the Magistrates showed an almost unbelievable cruelty. In this work, as indeed in all other matters affecting the happiness of children, Lady O'Hagan was keenly interested.

For three years 1893-6 Lady O'Hagan also maintained at her own expense two trained midwives who dealt with 200 cases annually. She gave up the scheme in 1896 when the Burnley Obstetric Society was founded to carry out the work on a much larger scale. The formation of the League of Social Service in 1912 was a notable advance in the humanitarian movement. It was established to help, advise, and, if necessary relieve mothers when they attended centres at Aenon, Bethel, Ebenezer, and Accrington Road. Such voluntary work, however self-sacrificing, could not deal with all the difficulties that were encountered and the Society therefore reported to the Town Council that a municipal milk depot was most essential and that a maternity hospital must be opened. In July 1916 Bank Hall was purchased and opened on December 2nd 1919 as a Maternity Home and Infant Consultation Centre. The League of Social Service provided child welfare centres, communal centres for women, and holidays for mothers and children; the greater part of its original work has been taken over by the Health Department of the Corporation.

During the 20th century so many separate voluntary organisations came into being that it was felt there was need for closer co-operation between them in order to tackle jointly the many social problems that faced the town. The outcome was the formation in 1935 of the Burnley Citizens' League, a Society which owed much to the Hon. Rachel Kay-Shuttleworth. It opened a Citizens' Advice Bureau to assist people in solving their many difficult problems relating to pensions, army service, rationing, income tax, etc.; it encouraged co-operation between benevolent Societies, and introduced a cultural movement by arranging lectures and "schools" for the study of music-making, musical appreciation and drama. In 1945 the Society took the name of the Burnley Council of Social Service and began to increase its activities. An "Over-Sixties" club was started in Parker Lane, a Hostel for Elderly Ladies was opened in Palatine Square, and a committee for the welfare of crippled and disabled persons was set up. National welfare officers and all the local welfare societies are members of the Council so that there is ample opportunity to discuss joint problems and render mutual aid. Among the welfare Societies affiliated to the Council of Social Service are the following:—The Blind Society, Youth Clubs, League of Pity, Crippled

Children's Aid Society, the Deaf and Dumb Society, the District Nursing Association, the Girls' Friendly Society, the House of Help, the League of Social Service, the Mutual Service Council, the N.S.P.C.C., the Rotary Club, the Inner Wheel, the Society of St. George, the Soldiers', Sailors', and Airmen's Families' Association, the Soroptimist Club, the Conference of Women's Organisations, the Victoria Hospital Ladies' Committee, and the Society for the provision of wireless for the bed-ridden poor. This long list of Burnley voluntary welfare organisations shows that the spirit of benevolence is stronger than ever.

CULTURAL SOCIETIES.

In the flood of educational progress after 1850. "serious minded" men felt the need for instruction in and discussion on subjects outside the school curricula and newspaper topics. The output of publications of educational value continued unabated and included such works as "Chamber's Encyclopædia" and Cassell's "Popular Educator"; but to see and hear competent speakers was much more valuable and interesting than private reading. This fact was recognised and proved by the success of mutual improvement societies, popular lectures at the Mechanics', cultural societies or "clubs" which they could join, and also by the introduction, in the later decades of the century, of University Extension Courses.

The earliest recorded cultural society, apart from those connected with individual churches and chapels, seems to have been a "Society for promoting Mutual Instruction," founded in 1831 and dissolved in 1836. The next society of a similar character was started in November 1861 by several enthusiastic members of the Mechanics' Institute who hoped to attract into a club all interested in the natural sciences. However, the first meeting called to discuss the project decided that the club should have wider interests and take the name of "The Burnley Literary and Philosophical Society." Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth was made President, Mr. T. T. Wilkinson, Vice-President, and Mr. T. Simpson, Secretary. Mr. Wilkinson read the first paper entitled "Henry Buckley," and this was followed at the next meeting by a discussion on the statement that "All substances do not contract when cooling"; "Cephalopodous Shells in the Burnley Coalfield" was the subject of another paper in December 1861. During the first year the Society held 15 meetings and five excursions mostly devoted to geological and botanical studies. Early in 1863, the 32 members, disappointed that there was no general support in the town, decided to disband the Society.

A society known as the "Burnley Athenæum Club" (or sometimes as the "Burnley Athenians") was founded early in 1865 and held weekly meetings in the Church Literary Institute. The Rev. Dr. Butler presided and was supported by the Rev. H. H. Robinson and Messrs. W. M. Grant, T. Shore, W. Briggs, W. Sheppard, J. W. Ashworth, and T. Preston; Mr. W. Greenhalgh was appointed secretary. Among the subjects discussed were "Local Etymology," "Oceanic Currents," "Chatham," and "Cromwell": Mr. T. Preston's paper on "The Cause of England's Greatness" was voted the best of the year. The club broke up in 1867 because so few of its members were prepared to take an active part in its activities.

A more successful club known as "The Burnley Literary and Scientific Association" was started in 1865 in connection with the Mechanics' Institute; its programme was evenly balanced between literary and scientific subjects and was therefore able to attract a larger membership. In 1866, papers were read on "Optics," "The Human Intellect," "William Cobbett," "Coal," "Oddities of Great Men," "Scripture and Science," and "George Washington." The Society apparently ceased to function in 1869. It was succeeded, in December 1873, by "The Burnley Literary and Scientific Club." At the inaugural meeting of this new club held in the Mechanics', Dr. Brumwell presided and rules were drawn up which included that the annual subscription should be 10s., meetings in winter should be held weekly and papers read fortnightly, the alternate weeks being devoted to exhibits, conversation, etc. In summer the meetings were to be fortnightly, with an excursion each month. Alderman Dr. Coultate was appointed President, Alderman T. T. Wilkinson and Dr. Brumwell, Vice-Presidents; Mr. W. A. Waddington was made Secretary and Mr. N. P. Grey, Treasurer; Messrs. H. Houlding, T. Nowell, T. Dean J. Leather, J. Bryan, and J. Howorth formed the Committee. At a dinner at the Bull Hotel on January 6th 1874 the club was formally established, and in the following week Henry Houlding read the first paper before the Society. That paper was on "Chaucer" and three weeks later he spoke on "Local Flora." The Club was so successful that within a very short time it had a membership of over 300. Much of the success was due to the varied nature of the programme, the social atmosphere at the "conversaziones," and the enterprise of the Committee in engaging famous literary and scientific authorities to give lectures before the members, while at the same time encouraging local men to speak on their particular pursuits and subjects. In 1875, for example, papers were read on "The Art of Portrait Painting," "The History of Malham," "Evolution," "Geology," "Jeremiah Horrocks," "Modern Humourists," "Durer," "Cicero," "Cremation," "Exploration in

the Holy Land," "Spenser," and "Vivisection." Among the more important speakers in the early days were Professors Duncan, Boyd-Dawkins, Carpenter, and Roscoe, Colonel Fishwick, Mr. P. G. Hammerton, and Mr. W. A. Abram; among the local speakers were Henry Houlding, J. Langfield Ward, T. T. Wilkinson, James Mackay, Wm. Waddington, W. Angelo Waddington, Henry Nutter, Dr. Brumwell, Dr. Coultate, Richard Charles, W. L. Grant, and Dr. Monckman.

The Club came to an end in 1930 largely because younger members did not come forward with enthusiasm to take the place of older ones. This was largely due to the counter-attractions of other social activities, sports, cinemas, and, above all, the recently formed dramatic societies. During its existence, the Club played a most important part in the cultural life of Burnley for almost all its speakers opened up realms of knowledge that would otherwise have been unknown to many of its members. To read the published "Transactions" makes one realise how great was the value of the "Literary and Scientific Club."

In addition to the names that have already been mentioned in connection with the earlier period, the following may be recorded:— Messrs. Alfred Strange, Dr. Mackenzie, H. L. Joseland, F. J. Grant, W. L. Grant, G. S. Ritchie, William Thompson, A. A. Bellingham, James Lancaster, William Lancaster, and G. A. Wood.

Still another Society, known as "The Burnley Literary and Philosophical Society," came into existence. The idea of a Club which should charge a smaller subscription than the Burnley Literary and Scientific Club and so attract the artisan class, originated in 1891 in a conversation between Thomas Booth and his friends; an open preliminary meeting was held but as there was little response the project was abandoned for the time. It was revived in 1893 at a meeting at Mr. Wilkinson's cottage at Roggerham, and once more Messrs. Booth, Hindle, Bradshaw and Wilkinson determined to test public opinion. The Society was launched in July 1893 with Mr. H. Nutter as President, Mr. J. W. Kneeshaw Vice-President and Mr. John Allen as Secretary. For the first year the meetings were held in various coffee-houses but in 1894 Sear Top House (Church Street) was taken as its headquarters and here a small museum was established. The rooms were open to members on Saturday evenings and Sunday afternoons; the annual subscription was 5s.

In 1902 Mr. S. Holden was the President and Mr. L. Heap the Chairman; among the Vice-Presidents were Messrs.

Kneeshaw, T. Booth, Rev. J. S. Doxey, Dr. Mackenzie, Dr. Harwood, W. Aspinall, F. C. Long, and R. Beetham. There were then 141 members but the average attendance at the meetings was only 40.

Many excellent lectures were given and the exhibits shown at the museum and meetings were often very valuable. The Society closed down about 1914.

THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.

The Mechanics' Institute was founded in 1834 by a number of Burnley working men who were interested in the moral and social welfare of their fellows; among them were Thomas Booth, Wm. Wood, Joseph Leeming, John Hargreaves, Thomas Coupe, Jeremiah Brown and Richard Hargreaves. The only income was derived from the annual subscriptions of 1s. per member but it was sufficient to take a room in King Street, the Meadows, and form a library "to facilitate and promote the diffusion of general knowledge among the operative mechanics and other inhabitants of Burnley and its neighbourhood." The President of the society was Peregrine Towneley; the Vice-President, James Marsland; the Secretary, Wm. Wood; and the Librarian, Thomas Booth. The society was so successful that the headquarters had to be removed frequently to larger and more commodious premises. From the Meadows, the band of enthusiasts moved successively to a building near the Swan Inn, over Edmondson's Liquor Stores in St. James' Row, Chancery Street, and Liverpool House in St. James's Street. In 1843 while stationed in St. James' Row, the society took the name of the "Burnley Mechanics' Institution" and in the following year, in Chancery Street, became a "Friendly Society" with rules recognised by the National Registrar and the Justices of the Peace. The subscription for full membership was fixed at 10s. a year, life membership at 10 guineas, and library membership only at 6s. 6d. a year. The President was Charles Towneley; the Vice-President, Thomas Chaffer; Directors, T. T. Wilkinson and James Smith; Secretary, J. Sutherland; Treasurer, William Wood; Librarian Richard Charles. By 1845 it had become apparent that the society would have to build larger and more suitable premises of its own if the benefits from its important activities were to be fully enjoyed; plans for a new "Mechanics' Institute" were therefore proposed early in 1845 and accepted in the same year.

It would appear from the details that have been preserved about the early history of the Mechanics' that the primary object of the promoters was the establishment of a

library. That object was certainly realised for in 1844 the Society possessed some 700 volumes, but the classes in mathematics, grammar, and music had become most important features in the cultural life of Burnley. The classes were conducted for the most part by unpaid teachers while the very few paid teachers received for their services only a shilling or two per night. Dr. Coultate taught music and J. H. Scott taught an elementary class for 12 years without payment. The Directors also arranged popular lectures though it was unusual to pay for the services of the lecturers. Spencer T. Hall, a Burnley doctor with rather unorthodox views, was paid £15 for two talks on "Phreno-Magnetism."

Great enthusiasm had been shown in 1843 when the Directors made their decision to build a new Mechanics' Institute, and even more delight was shown when the foundation stone was laid on November 25th 1851 by the President, Col. Charles Towneley, in the presence of a most distinguished company. Afterwards, when the building was almost completed and it was realised what the cost would be to maintain it, some members became alarmed so that the Secretary's Report for 1854 was rather despondent, mentioned "apathy and indifference" due to "differences between members," and considered that "little could be done until the new building was opened." The receipts for 1854 amounted to £120, including 69s from subscriptions and £6 from lectures, there was only a very small balance left after payment of expenses, including £9 for teachers and £24 for the librarian.

The new building was opened on July 21st 1855 and within a very short time progress was far more rapid than it had ever been anticipated. Its educational classes became really famous, particularly after the formation of the East Lancashire Union of Institutions and the appointment of organising masters, while lectures, concerts, entertainments, dances and other social activities made the Mechanics' a centre of community life. Indeed, it seemed to carry out to the full the hope and design of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who, writing in the 1858 Report on the East Lancashire Union with reference to the Burnley Mechanics', stated "Let us hope that the cultivation of cottage gardens, the cricket club and the manly sport of football, the swimming bath and gymnastic exercises, the chess club, the newsroom, the library, the evening classes and the lectures of the Institution will take the place of the coarse and absurd pastimes of the worst part of the population."

The important work of the Mechanics' classes has already been described and may therefore be omitted from this account of the progress of the Institution. In 1855 the building

contained the Library, the "Exchange" room for manufacturers and business men, the Hall, and several class rooms; a smoking and conversation room was made in 1866, a billiard room in 1871, and a "Jubilee Memorial" wing to accommodate 550 students was added in 1886. Membership of the Library, Institute and Exchange rose from 344 in 1863, 479 in 1868, 952 in 1871, to 1,179 in 1911. In addition to the arrangements made by the Directors for classical concerts, Gilechrist Lectures, popular lectures, all of which were extremely important in raising the standard of culture at the end of the 19th century, various Societies have had their home in the Mechanics'—the Vocal Union, the Mechanics' Band, the Literary and Scientific Society, the Debating Society, the Photographic Club, the Chess Club, the Camera Club, etc. The following have been the secretaries up to the beginning of the 20th century:—Wm. Wood, appointed 1834, John Butterland 1842, J. H. Scott 1845, Martin Brown 1846, Henry Houlding 1849, Mr. Crowther 1851, John Butterland (2nd time) 1851, Alderman J. H. Scott (2nd time) 1854, C. M. Foden and George Gill 1867, and C. M. Foden 1870-1912.

At present (1950) the total membership is 1,411 and subscriptions amount to £1,670. The present Secretary is Mr. H. G. W. Cooper.

THE CHURCH INSTITUTE.

The Church of England Literary Institute owes its origin in 1842 to a desire of churchmen for a Society or Club which should be mainly conducted in the interests of people belonging to the Established Church. In 1849 a Committee of twelve men, with Canon Mosley Master as their chairman acquired a site for an Institute in Manchester Road at a cost of £500; a building fund was then launched with an issue of 952 shares of 25 each. These were quickly taken up and the building was begun in 1849 and opened in 1850. The Institute was then handed over by the shareholders to elected Directors who organised the Library, educational classes, exhibitions, and public lectures. In 1857 General Searlett, Rev. Wm. Thursby, Sir James Phillips Kay Smith, Col. Starkie and Mr. John Taylor transferred all their shares to the Directors with the promise that the interest on them should be used to purchase all outstanding shares. By 1895 the Institute was free from all debts.

For 27 years 1850-87, educational classes were held in the Institute, and, for much of the period, voluntary service was given by Mr. W. M. Grant, Mr. Cannel of Grant's school,

Dr. Verity of All Saints', Dr. Butler of the Grammar School, Rev. R. Nicholson of St. Paul's, Mr. L. Ashworth, Mr. Bailey, and Mr. Bell; at one time Mr. P. G. Hamerton, art critic and poet, taught art. Classes ceased to be held in 1887 and the Directors endeavoured to extend its social atmosphere by increasing the size of the library, opening a reading room and installing a billiard table. The library which had received some hundreds of volumes from the library of Mr. Wm. Greenwood of Well Hall had some 200 borrowers. Among the early secretaries were Mr. Johnson, Mr. J. W. Ashworth, Mr. W. Greenhalgh and Mr. R. Steen.

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.⁽¹⁾

The first class to be held in Burnley under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association was arranged in 1911 by Mr. Thomas Crossland, Principal of the Technical School, and a number of other enthusiasts for adult education. The class, which studied Industrial History, started in 1912 in a room in the Mechanics', provided by Mr. C. M. Foden; it ceased in 1914 owing to the outbreak of War. In 1921 Mr. Thomas Foster took the lead in restarting the movement in Burnley and a class in Psychology was held. On March 22nd 1922 the W.E.A. class and a private class held in Sandygate by the Transport Workers held a joint meeting and decided to form a Burnley Branch of the W.E.A. Mr. Thomas Foster was appointed President; Mr. E. Whittaker, Hon. Secretary; Mr. J. Meeham, Hon. Treasurer; and Mr. W. B. Currie, Chairman. During its existence of 28 years, the Branch has regularly held three or four courses of study each year, and two years ago had more students than any other Branch in the N.W. District. Among the members who have given long service to the Association may be mentioned Mr. Foster, Mr. Whittaker, Mr. Meeham, Miss I. Croft, and Mr. C. Anforth.

PRESENT CULTURAL SOCIETIES.

At the present time, there are so many societies connected with music, art, ballet, and drama that it is almost impossible to enumerate them, much less describe their activities in detail. In music, perhaps the best known are the Municipal Choir and Orchestra, the Light Opera Society, and the Gramophone Society; in art—the Burnley Artists' Society; in drama—the Art School Players, and the Garrick Club. Many are connected with the Burnley and District Association of the Arts

1. Information supplied by Mr. E. Whittaker.

which acts as a co-ordinating body for all local societies devoted to the arts. In the annual Burnley Music and Drama Festival the standard of achievement reached by local competitors is remarkably high.

The Borough Council sponsors many cultural activities and the popular lectures, given frequently in the Central Library, provide opportunities of listening to the most famous speakers on a wide range of topics. The Museum and Art Gallery at Towneley Hall is one of the finest in the Country. Its pictures and unique specimens of all types of craftsmanship are of the greatest possible interest and value to Burnley.

Much of the financial support which is necessary for the Art Gallery and public music is derived from the income from the Stocks Massey bequest of approximately £100,000.

CHAPTER XII.

The Co-operative Movement, Building Societies, etc.

The first attempt to establish a Co-operative Society in Burnley was made a few years after 1850 when a number of enthusiasts endeavoured to imitate the "Rochdale Pioneers" by starting a grocery shop in St. James's Street, probably near the junction with Cow Lane: it was open 6-9 p.m. each evening. That project failed, but in 1867 or the following year a small meeting, held under the chairmanship of Dr. Uttley in a building now the New White Horse Inn, determined to open a co-operative store in Hammerton Street. Unfortunately, the disturbed conditions in the textile trade and the general belief that the sponsors of the new Society were ringleaders in the local strike agitation brought an end to the "Stores": the Society was wound up and 2s. 6d. in the pound was paid. The third attempt to establish a Burnley Society proved successful. In 1860, seven men, eager to restart the movement, met in Chadwick's Temperance Hotel and there determined to found a Society, though they did not "contemplate going beyond what could be transacted or conveyed in barrows or baskets." Another meeting, held in the house of Mr. John Spencer on September 20th 1860, showed that some of the leaders were anxious about their new venture but were possibly pacified by a resolution that anyone could have his entrance money returned if not fully satisfied with the final form of the Rules. At a meeting on September 26th the Society was named "The Burnley Wood Co-operative Stores." After two more meetings, one in Alnwick Court, Hattersley Houses, and the other in Pickering's Temperance Hotel, Chancery Street, the Rules were finally agreed upon, the entrance fee for membership was fixed at 1s., and on December 12th 1860 business was begun at 47 Hammerton Street, now a butcher's shop. The first Committee was composed of John Spencer, chairman, Thos. Taylor, secretary, Jos. Bracewell, Wm. Smith, Jas. Lowcock, John Camm, Rd. Burrell, Wm. Edwards, Henry Smith, J. B. Robinson, and James Laycock. The Store was open between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. each evening and members of the Committee served at the counter; its first balance sheet, published on March 16th 1861 showed a profit of £20 on sales of £464. At the end of nine months' working, 5% had been paid on paid-up capital, a dividend of 2s. for members and 1s. for non-members had been declared, Branch Stores in Anne Street, (Fulledge), and Padiham Road had been opened, and a shoe

making and clogging department was in process of formation. By December 1861 the shops were staffed by efficient shop assistants.

The business of the Society expanded so quickly that a larger central Store soon became necessary. Accordingly a freehold property in Hammerton Street was bought, a three-storey building was erected at a cost of £2,600 and was opened on October 4th 1862 as the new Co-operative Store, an event celebrated by tea-parties in the Mechanics' and the Stores; 1,500 people attended and speeches were made by Mr. J. B. Robinson, President of the Burnley Society, James Beck, the secretary, Mr. Cooper and Mr. Smyths of the "Rochdale Pioneers," Mr. Hartley of the Todmorden Co-operative Society, and, above all, by Mr. G. J. Holyoake, "the historian and apostle" and "the grand old man" of the Co-operative Movement.

Within the next few years disaster nearly overwhelmed the Society. The Cotton Famine brought such distress that sales were considerably reduced and some of the staff had to be dismissed as redundant. To make matters worse, an investigation of the finances revealed defalcations, the secretary was forced to resign, and the Society lost £800 which was increased to £940 by the cost of legal proceedings. In February 1865 the two Branch shops were closed down, the butchering business was given up, all other departments were brought into the main building, the Committee, Secretary and Auditors worked without salary, and the newsroom was limited to one newspaper.

In 1869 came a turn in the fortunes of the Society. In 1870 the sales amounted to £5,807 and rose to £11,316 in 1873, £23,500 in 1875, £47,300 in 1881, £82,700 in 1884, and reached the £100,000 mark in 1885, at which date there was 4,000 members. The butchering department was re-opened in Hammerton Street in 1866 and Branch Shops were started in Burnley Lane 1873, Westgate 1874, Oxford Road 1874, Trafalgar Street 1875, Old Hall Street 1877, Wood Top 1877, Healey Wood 1884, Canning Street and Brennand Street 1885.

Among the early stalwarts of the Burnley Co-operative Movement should be mentioned John Spencer, J. B. Rawlinson, Robert Fox, secretary 1875-81, Jacob Waring, manager of the Calder Vale Self-Help Mill and later partner in the firm of Waring and Phillips, Calder Vale. John Yeadon, shoemaker and a very earnest Socialist, Rd. Stansfield, Rd. Mereer, Craven Murgatroyd, Jacob Towler, Robert Smith and S. Davis. The annual meeting was usually held in November

and generally took the form of a tea-party and "Festival" meeting at which a prominent Reformer gave a lecture. Thomas Hughes, M.P., later Queen's Councillor and one of Her Majesty's Judges, and author of "Tom Brown's Schooldays," was a very welcome visitor for he had given very valuable help to the Society during its critical years; in 1872 he spoke on "Co-operation as a means of Self-Help." The chairman of these meetings was often a prominent Burnley man who sympathised with the Movement; among them may be mentioned Alderman T. T. Wilkinson and Councillor Henry Nutter.

The Burnley Co-operative Society was started not only to give its members a chance to share in the profits from retail trade but also "to avail themselves of this opportunity not to neglect their mental endowments, feeling confident, as we do, that the future success of Co-operation rests wholly and entirely on the moral and intellectual culture of its members." A news-room had been opened in 1862 but during the critical years 1863-8 its activities had been limited by lack of funds. The "Education Committee" was formed in 1880 and soon a reading and conversation room was opened where members might read monthly magazines, 19 weekly and eight daily newspapers; a library was also started. Similar rooms were opened in 1883 in Trafalgar Street and Bivel Street and in the following year the experiment was begun in Oxford Road. In these rooms frequent lectures on social problems were arranged and at Trafalgar Street, in particular, great enthusiasm was shown. It speaks much for the intelligence of the working classes in the late 19th century that discussions on such subjects as "The Malthusian Doctrine" and "Individualism or Socialism" could draw large crowds.

By 1884 it had become apparent that the Hammerton Street premises were quite inadequate to deal with the increase in the amount of business and the Committee therefore decided to buy Gregory's Tannery (a name perpetuated in "Tanner" Street) for £4,700, pull down their own shops and erect new buildings on the whole site at a cost of £3,000. The new buildings were to comprise three shops—a Grocer's, Shoe, and Tailor's—with workrooms for the different trades attached; provision was also for offices and committee rooms. At the time of the erection of the new buildings the President was Mr. John Yeadon, the Vice-President, Mr. S. Davis, and the Secretary, Mr. John Brown. The foundation stone was laid by Mr. Thos. Hughes, Q.C. on December 12th 1885, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the first store on the site; the opening ceremony was performed on October 23rd 1886 by Mr. T. Wilberforce, Chairman of the North-West Section

of the Co-operative Union. In the following year the Committee bought Sagar's Foundry to give further accommodation. The new buildings flanking those of 1886 were opened by Lady O'Hagan in September 1890: Mr. T. Rawlinson was the President at the time, Mr. Ashworth the Manager, and Mr. Isherwood the Secretary.

From that time, the Burnley Co-operative Society seemed to have no set-backs, except perhaps on one occasion when there was a lengthy dispute about the archway over the Calder. By 1889 it had 40 shops of which 28 were the property of the Society, the membership was 6,400, the sales were well over £200,000 and £30,000 was distributed as dividend and interest. In 1893 membership had risen to 8,577 and sales amounted to nearly £300,000.

As the co-operative spirit spread, the educational work of the Society was enthusiastically developed and the Committee allocated 3% of the profits to support the Education Committee. Ambulance classes were started, weekly excursions to places of historical interest were arranged, series of public lectures were held, and, above all, greater attention was paid to the Library which by 1890 had 5,000 volumes. The public lectures were particularly interesting and ranged through politics, religion, science, literature, and sport; at the same time, the Concert Hall provided a suitable place in which to hold concerts or stage plays. To encourage thrift a children's penny bank was opened and offered a welcome chance to save for any rare holidays that might come. In 1889 the Womens' Guild was started largely as a result of the work done by Mrs. John Brown, a social reformer of very great importance and wife of Dr. John Brown of Bank Parade. No woman had ever attended the Quarterly Meetings but Mrs. Brown and a few others resolved to be present in order to speak and plead for funds to start and carry on a Guild. Some of the male members were very hostile to the suggestion but the ladies won the fight and soon the Women's Guild became one of the most active sections in the Society. Lady O'Hagan presided at one of the first meetings at which Mrs. Heaton spoke on "Natural History." The Guild also formed a choir and held choral services in Westgate Chapel while many others of its members concentrated on social work.

As a consequence of the growth of Public Libraries in Burnley, the Co-operative Library was closed in 1925. During its existence it had fulfilled a most useful purpose and the dispersal of its 10,000 volumes closed an era which had experienced hard struggles to maintain a high cultural standard with limited financial resources. At one time, nine reading rooms were under the control of the Society.

The later history of the Co-operative Society is one of continued expansion. In 1895 the Lowerhouse Co-operative Society was taken over. This had been founded in October 1871 with 30 members who raised a capital of £150 and opened a grocery store in February 1872. Three years later, the number of members rose to 175 but even after twenty years the membership was less than 400. Sales never passed beyond an annual value of £10,000 but the expenses of the Society were so low that dividends of 2s. were usually paid and, at times, reached 2s. 11d. Mr. H. C. Wolstenholme was the secretary. The Brierfield Society, founded in 1867, was amalgamated with the Burnley Society in 1930.

The great progress of the Burnley Co-operative Society may be seen from the following statistics:— membership has reached 28,637 and the sales for 1949 amounted to more than £1,280,000; in addition to the 17 departments located in or near the Central Stores, there are 53 Branch Shops and some 40 specialised departments. The Guilds, youth clubs, music and drama activities, and a reading room carry on the educational work of the Society.

BUILDING SOCIETIES.

The earliest recorded Building Society in Burnley was founded a little before 1800 and was known as the "Hall Union Club." Its membership was limited to 60 who made periodical payments to the Club to buy all the houses lying between Brown Street and Calder Street; when the property had been assigned, the Club was dissolved. The Burnley Benefit Building Society, established in 1815, was also limited in membership and was closed when a pre-determined sum of money had been paid into it; by 1825, the Society had received £7,980 which was held in the name of John Haworth, who was probably the President of the Society.

In 1846 Building Societies that were unlimited in membership and continuous in operation were legalised. Since 1850, two Societies of this new type have originated in Burnley, and one or two of the terminal type, e.g. the Starr-Bowker, have been successfully started and completed.

A new Burnley Benefit Building Society was founded in 1850 by Thos. Ashworth, W. M. Grant, Thos. Carr, John Clegg, and Dr. Willis. The first office was at 10, Back Market Street but in 1853 it was transferred to 20, Hargreaves Street, and later to No. 2 in the same street. In 1872 the Head Office was at 12, Grimshaw Street. Three years later, the name was changed to the "Burnley Building Society." The present offices

were opened in April 1930. Mr. Henry Hargreaves was the first secretary of the Society 1850-9; he was succeeded by Mr. Austin Lee 1859-92 who guided the Society through its worst troubles. Since Mr. Lee's resignation, the following have been secretaries:— Mr. W. L. Grant 1892-1918, and Mr. Walter Harvey 1919-1946: the present secretary is Mr. William Hirst.

The Society quickly achieved success and in 1858, eight years after its foundation, the receipts for the year amounted to £14,000; at the same date, 5,000 shares, each of £40, had been taken up. In 1861, there were 1,080 members; the receipts amounted to £16,000; and the share capital had risen to £29,000. For a time the Cotton Famine 1862-4 affected the prosperity of the Society, and 356 small shareholders had to withdraw their savings. Recovery was rapid and by 1872 there was a yearly turnover of £108,000 which was increased in 1873 to £205,000. In 1874 the Society experienced its first real crisis when rumours spread that the Society held a mortgage of £15,000 on the property of a leading industrialist in Burnley, who, to everyone's amazement, had been declared bankrupt. During two days, hundreds rushed to draw their investments and over £10,000 was paid out; however, all claims were met and the panic subsided. In 1876 there were 800 members with funds totalling £600,000.

Two years later, during the cotton strike, the Society passed through a second and much greater crisis. As part of the strike policy, trade union leaders advised all workers who were members of the Building Society to withdraw their money in the hope that such action would create difficulties for the employers who had invested in the same Society and would need loans during the stoppage of the mills. Within a day or two, all available cash, amounting to £15,000 had been paid out, and the Society had to consider the possibility of being forced to realise its assets to meet further claims. To make matters worse, several important Lancashire business firms and Banks, including Eastwood's and the Glasgow Bank, went bankrupt and soon fears were widely entertained about the solvency of the Burnley Society. On one day more than £1,000 was paid out and 611 notices to withdraw £48,000 had been handed in at the office. Three days later, Fenton's Bank at Rochdale and a financial company at Preston failed; more claims were made for a repayment of £73,000. The Society weathered the storm, for, at a public meeting of the shareholders, a successful appeal was made to them to withdraw their notices in the interest of the whole Society. Since 1880, the Society has met with no set-backs and in 1950, its centenary year, it has some 100,000 investors, depositors, and borrowers; the assets have risen from £2,350,000 in 1919 to £29,578,000 in 1950.

A Burnley Branch of the "North Craven Industrial and Provident Land and Building Society" was formed in 1872 with Mr. George Gill as secretary and an office at 12, Hargreaves Street. At the first general meeting of the Branch in April 1873 the report showed that the 44 members had taken up 138 shares. It is not clear what was the cause of the disagreement with the parent Society, but on February 5th 1874 the Branch passed a resolution "that Members of the North Craven Industrial and Provident Land and Building Society" retire from the said company and form a new Society, the "Borough Industrial and Provident Land and Building Society." The new Company was registered on March 21st 1874 with powers to issue shares of £10 each and loan mortgages at 5%.

In October 1874 new premises were taken in Manchester Road and Mr. Richard Watson succeeded Mr. Gill as secretary. The Society however did not make the progress that was expected and therefore in 1878 the office was removed to Nicholas Street and Mr. Charles Fox was appointed secretary. New rules were adopted to attract more members—the minimum subscription was reduced to 6d., a charge of 3d. only was made for a pass-book, and all fines were abolished. Though the innovations led to an increase in membership, economic conditions did not favour progress so that in 1880 after interest and other charges had been met, the profit was only £43. However, in 1885 the profit had increased to £319 and the report for 1890 showed an increase of £35,000 in capital investment. Then occurred the first real crisis in the history of the Society for rumours spread the news that the secretary had used the funds for his own purposes. The directors issued statements that the value of the land, buildings and mortgages held by the Society was nearly £140,000 and that the Society was officially recognised as the largest of its kind in the Kingdom, as registered under the Act of 1876. The shareholders, however, were so anxious that £10,000 was reclaimed and paid out in one week. The actual loss to the Society was little more than £4,000.

As in the case of other financial concerns in Burnley, the Borough Building Society has made considerable progress during the last fifty years. Assets in 1900 amounted to £274,000, in 1920 to £722,00 and in 1950 to over £10,000,000. There have been only five secretaries:— Richard Watson, Charles Fox, Joseph Pickles 1890-1922, Robert Fox, 1922-1926 and the present secretary and general manager, Mr. L. Gaugham.

SAVINGS BANKS.

The earliest Burnley Savings Bank was founded in 1848 by the Rev. Mosley Master and several leading members of the Established Church; the office was in St. James' Row. For many years, the Bank served a very useful purpose in enabling people of small means to invest their savings or save for some particular object. There were usually about 1,500 members and their deposits were fairly constant. In 1861 the Society was at its height with 2,180 depositors, but after that date competition from the Post Office Savings Bank, which opened in Burnley on October 16th 1861 and other local Savings Banks and Building Societies proved too keen for the earliest Society; to make things worse, the Cotton Famine and trade depressions killed all opportunity to save as far as the poorer classes were concerned. Between 1861 and 1863, the capital sum invested fell from £63,000 to £48,000 and by 1879, the year following the cotton strike, there were only 793 accounts with a total investment of £33,000. A slight revival occurred in 1884 but the trustees decided in 1889 to pay out all moneys and close the Bank after an existence of just over 60 years.

A Burnley Penny Savings Bank was opened in 1878 at Salem Chapel. It seems to have owed its foundation to the enthusiasm of the Rev. W. M. Westerby, who had recently been appointed to that Chapel. Mr. George Bell was elected Secretary and an office was opened in Nicholas Street. There were about 1,000 members and an average of £1200 was paid in each year. As their withdrawals were very frequent, no large amount of capital was ever raised and no interest could ever be paid. The venture consequently died within a few years.

The Yorkshire Penny Bank opened a Branch in Burnley in the early eighties. Five schools, St. Peter's, St. Andrew's, St. James', St. Matthew's and Stoneyholme were the earliest to join but the deposits were small and the withdrawals were frequent. In 1884 St. Andrew's led the savings campaign with deposits of £2,288 from 783 scholars; in the same year they withdrew £2,035: 233 scholars from St. Peter's invested £332 but withdrew £337 and left only £181 in their school account. Stoneyholme opened 245 accounts and in two months deposited £212.

A BURNLEY BANK.

The only Bank to be founded in Burnley was known as "Holgate's Bank" and was established early in the 19th century. It followed the usual custom of issuing its own bank-

notes which were accepted as currency in Burnley and the neighbourhood. Unfortunately for Burnley, banking theory was then almost in its infancy and the proprietors issued notes to their clients far in excess of the real assets of the Bank. During the trade disturbances of 1824, so many people who held "Holgate's notes" in their possession rushed to change them for hard cash that the Bank was unable to meet the claims and consequently went bankrupt to the dismay of those who had invested their savings and of those who had drawn cheques on the Bank to meet their normal obligations. All trading concerns connected with Holgates, including the Bank, brewery, woollen mill, and various properties were sold to meet the deficiency in the banking business. The private Bank of Birkbeck, Alcock, and Company, which originated in the Craven district, opened a Burnley Branch soon afterwards and took over the work of Holgate's Bank.

CHAPTER XIII.

Cricket and Football, Militia, etc.**CRICKET.**

The earliest recorded cricket club in Burnley was one known as the Trafalgar Club which played in 1828 in the Bull Meadow behind St. James's Street between Manchester Road and Hammerton Street. It changed its playing field on several occasions but eventually in 1846 under the name of the "Burnley Cricket Club," which it had assumed in 1833, it found a home for the second time at Turf Moor. Here it remained for eleven years, playing home and away friendly matches with Lancashire and Yorkshire teams, including Accrington, Blackburn, Rochdale, Bury, Preston, Skipton, Bradford, and Halifax. A professional, a Yorkshireman named Dearden, was engaged in 1834 to coach the team in the new-fashioned "round-arm" bowling. On one occasion, a variation of the usual game was played in a match between a team of three against a team of eighteen, "single wicket and two innings each." Strange to relate, the team of three scored 13 runs in their first innings and their opponents were all out for 0 and 5 in their two innings; the teams then retired to the Parker's Arms for refreshment. Among the early cricketers 1846-57 were W. Boothman, J. Arnold, W. Powell, J. Walsh, J. Richmond, J. Littler, T. Smith, J. Barrett, R. Whitehead, R. Pollard, and G. Stevenson.

The club died out in 1857 but two years later the officers of the Burnley Militia formed a team and took over Turf Moor. The new club took the name of the "Burnley Wellington Club" in 1862 and played against the teams already mentioned. It was fairly successful particularly when it strengthened the team by engaging John Bray, a professional from Accrington.

The "Wellington" was disbanded at the end of the 1863 season and the old Burnley Cricket Club was revived with John Rawcliffe as chairman, Joshua Rawlinson, secretary, and J. Robinson, Branch Treasurer. John Rawcliffe remained the chairman for six or seven years, then retired, but was re-elected in 1870 and held the position until 1886. The re-organised club made considerable progress and was able to put three teams in the field; it had some remarkably good players including W. Richmond, who once knocked the ball out of Turf Moor as far as St. Mary's Church, J. Birley, Hirst, W. Rawlinson, W. Sagar, J. Arnold and H. Stansfield. The professional in 1863 was Chatterton, a famous "underhand"

bowler; John Bray was re-engaged in 1865 and had a season's bowling average of 5.5 runs per wicket. The team's habit of being late for the start marred many matches and on one occasion the Keighley Club had to wait at Turf Moor for 90 minutes until a sufficient number of the Burnley team had arrived to make a start possible. The receipts for 1864 amounted to £160 and the expenses to £158 10s. 0d. including £41 8s. 0d. the wages of the professional.

In 1866, the Committee, ever anxious to help the players and attract recruits, acquired a quantity of gymnasium apparatus and engaged Mons. Remaudi as instructor; he occasionally gave a demonstration of his gymnastic ability at the conclusion of an important match. To meet the costs of ground improvements, apparatus for gymnasium, cricket gear, and wages for the professional (£2 6s. 0d. a week) and the instructor, an Athletic Festival was held at which valuable prizes were offered for competition in all the usual "field events"; in order to make the Festival more attractive, marquees were erected, a band was engaged, and a display of horse-jumping was given. The first gala day was so successful that the Athletic Festival became an annual event for over twenty years, though there were misgivings as to the wisdom of risking a serious financial loss should the weather prove unsatisfactory. However, the enterprise of the Committee brought the receipts of 1866 up to nearly £400 and the membership to 210. The professional, Mr. E. B. Rawlinson, also drew large crowds; among his feats were 8 wickets for 7 runs against Halifax, and 10 for 6 runs against Blackburn, successes that were followed by the honour of playing in the Lancashire v. Yorkshire match at Whalley.

Four matches played at Turf Moor between 1868 and 1890 deserve mention. In 1868 George Parr's All-England Eleven played a three days' match against a team of 22 drawn from Burnley and District. A grand-stand was erected, the band of the Inniskillen Dragoons was engaged and the town went en fete. Of course, the team which included such celebrated cricketers as J. Smith, Rowbottom, Oseroft, Hayward, Parr, Carpenter, Tarrant, A. Shaw, Pinder, Tinley and J. C. Shaw won by 151 and 21 for none against Burnley's 107 and 63. An Australian Eleven visited Turf Moor in 1878 to play a Burnley team of 18 men. Everyone thought that Burnley would have little chance against a team that included Spofforth, the "demon bowler," Boyle, and Murdoch, the famous batsman, but the dismal weather and perhaps "the luck of the game" went against the visitors, for Murdoch was dismissed by the first ball from Fred Branch and Spofforth was hit out of the ground. The Burnley team scored 102 runs, Spofforth taking 9 wickets for 55 and Boyle 6 for 35; the Australians scored

47 for 9 wickets, Fred Branch taking 4 wickets for 23 runs, J. Melling, 2 for 14, and G. Nash, 3 for 10 runs. Two years later the Australians again came to Turf Moor to play a three days' match against a team of eighteen from Burnley and District. On this occasion, the Australians found their true form and won the match on the second day; Australians 148, Burnley 43 and 78. Murdoch scored 56 and Spofforth in both innings took 23 wickets for 46 runs; Burnley's highest scorers were Horrocks 15 and Tom Branch 12; their successful bowlers G. Nash 5 for 38 runs and Fred Branch 2 for 26 runs. On the third day, Australia scored 82 for seven wickets. Rather different in character was a match in 1890 between two ladies' teams from Surrey, Kent, and Middlesex. They wore white flannel full length skirts, which were ankle length and weighted with shot, loose sailor bodices, and high white boots. Thousands came to see the match and the Burnley Club benefited to the extent of £37.

Cricket at Turf Moor became so enterprising that club membership was regarded as a privilege; receipts rose from £400 in 1867 to £1,100 in 1883, while at the same time the Committee, desirous of making the Club the centre for sports, formed a football club in 1874, opened a bowling green in 1875, and started a lawn tennis club in 1880: a permanent grandstand was erected in 1886.

During the period 1864-1891 Burnley had several players of outstanding merit—John Bray and E. Barker Rawlinson (already mentioned) Richard Boys, a regular player 1869-95; the three brothers, Fred, Tom, and John Robert Branch 1872-1885, of whom either Fred or Tom headed the bowling averages each year; the two brothers, Frank and Walter Sugg, of whom the first scored 164 against Bacup in 1888, played for Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, and at the Oval in 1888 against the Australians, and was the centre-half for Burnley Football Club.

The formation of the North East Lancashire League of 14 clubs in 1891 was a matter of great importance to the Burnley Club. Hitherto, all matches had been "friendly" but with the advent of the League, the desire to head the League table was an additional incentive to keenness. Burnley won the League Championship in 1893, 1897, 1901, 1906, 1907, 1908, and 1913, a remarkable achievement only made possible by real ability and love of the game. Among the amateur and professional players who made the Burnley Club famous in League cricket in the earlier years may be mentioned the following:—Tom Wardell 1897-99, a Yorkshire County player; F. Blake 1886-97; J. Allen 1885-1906, player and official for nearly 40

years; H. Cudworth 1894-1913, County and Test match player, with a club record of 868 runs in one season and 178 not out against Accrington in 1906; J. W. Houldsworth 1885-1899; A. A. Bell 1900-15; S. F. Barnes 1900-1, "the greatest bowler of all time," who went direct from Turf Moor to play for England in Australia; W. Cook 1906-15, who during his ten years with Burnley scored 4,212 runs and took 1,071 wickets for 8,932 runs; J. H. Bracewell, who since 1904 has been connected with the Club either as player or official; H. Dean 1902-4, later a Test match cricketer and head of the bowling averages for England in 1911.

During the last two years of the War of 1914-18, all activities ceased so that by 1919 the officials were faced with grave difficulties arising from a very small membership, the dispersal of the regular players, a deficit of £225, and an urgent need of repairs to the buildings and grounds. A public appeal was therefore made and donations of nearly £900 were received which enabled the Club to continue to function. Further troubles arose in 1920 when it became necessary to find £3,500 in order to purchase the ground and save its use as the Club's playing field. The problem was solved by creating a Limited Liability Company and issuing 6,000 £1 shares. A fair amount of success attended the venture and a Centenary Bazaar in 1934 enabled the Directors to meet all outstanding liabilities.

The earliest recorded Lowerhouse Cricket Club⁽¹⁾ existed from 1855 to 1861 and played on a field near the Griffin Hotel. It was regarded as a good local team and its standard may be judged by the fact that it played the Burnley 2nd XI: occasionally it met teams from Padiham and Blackburn. In almost the last game of this early Lowerhouse club, the team scored only 24 in two innings against 63 made by a Habergham XI; the rest of the afternoon was devoted to a single wicket match between the two umpires.

When the club was dissolved in 1861, three new clubs came into existence—the Garibaldians and the Harlequins, both of which played on the field near the Griffin, and the Britannia, which played on a ground called the Holme; (a later Britannia played in Burnley Lane and afterwards in Stoneyholme). These three teams joined forces in 1862 to form the present Lowerhouse Club, though for several years it was more popularly known as the Garibaldian.

The re-organised club quickly achieved fame and it was soon playing against the best teams from Burnley, Blackburn, Church, Padiham, and Rishton., and from the more

1. Information and material from the Secretary, Mr. H. Smith.



The Town Hall.



The Municipal College.

distant Southport and Littleborough. The social atmosphere was encouraged by concerts given by the Lowerhouse Glee and Madrigal Society, by dances to the music of the Habbergham Quarille band, and, from 1864 onwards, by an annual tea-party. An athletic sports meeting was first held in 1873 and became an annual event until 1905; the profit in 1873 was approximately £12 and in 1891 about £100.

Among the founders of the club were J. R. Branch, father of three famous local cricketers, T. Holland, A. Wolstenholme, W. Whittaker, T. Laycock, J. Varley, J. Sagar, and W. Smith; among the best known early players were— Hemingway, D. Haworth, C. Ingham, J. Wilkinson, H. Whittaker, P. Whittaker, W. Crabtree and J. Sagar. The club engaged Gibson Price as professional and groundsman in 1874 but by 1890 more financial support made it possible to engage two professionals, whose combined weekly wages during the season amounted to £5. Mr. Wilkinson was the secretary 1882-1915, except for two years; he saw the gate receipts rise from £19 to £180 and the membership increase from 93 to 570.

One of the most outstanding players of the club was T. Shutt. After achieving great success as an amateur in the last decade of the 19th century, he became a professional and served at Stalybridge, Perth, Howick, Liverpool, Lowerhouse (1899), Rishton, and Read. He returned as an amateur to Lowerhouse about 1904 and during the next twenty years was regularly placed 1st or 2nd in the bowling averages and in eight years occupied a leading position as a batsman. Among other amateurs who gave good service to Lowerhouse were J. J. Elliott, J. Cook, T. Whittaker, W. Whittaker, and M. Walker. Possibly the most famous of the professionals associated with Lowerhouse were W. Lees 1912, G. H. Wilson 1915, W. Cook 1919-22, F. Webster 1927-9, E. St. Hill 1931-3, R. Tyldesley 1936, L. Parkinson 1937, F. Root 1938-9, and E. A. Martindale 1947-50.

The club has experienced many difficulties. In 1900 alterations to the ground became necessary owing to the construction of a new road to Rosegrove. This necessitated the building of a new pavilion and the erection of a large hoarding on one side of the field. Then, after the first World War, when league cricket was suspended, fencing and seating had to be replaced. The Dugdale family willingly loaned money to meet the cost but it was only by increasing the membership and holding bazaars and other social events that the debts were eventually paid off. In more recent years, fire has destroyed the pavilion and once more the club has had to work very energetically to meet the cost of re-building.

FOOTBALL.

The earliest mention of football in Burnley occurs in a magistrates' order of 1751 that the constable, churchwardens and overseers should prosecute those "idle persons" who practice on Sundays "football, leaping, quoits, bowls, hunting, tippling in alehouses, swearing and cursing," and so "profane the Sabbath and absent themselves from Divine Service." The game, if it can be so-called when no rules were observed, was undoubtedly played in Burnley long before 1751 and though Sabbatarians condemned it as a Sunday game there was no objection to it as a week-day sport until the increased number of houses and windows made "playing in the streets" a very undesirable practice. Actually, the first match which has been recorded in the local Press was played in March 1876 between teams of half-timers working at Lowerhouse Mill; it doubtless resembled those of the mid-19th century when village played village with teams of 20, 30, or even 100 on each side, in which the best runners formed the forward lines.

All the above games would be classified as "soccer" but as yet there were no organised teams either in Burnley or in the district. In the seventies the "rugby" game was taken up and soon there were several teams, including the Burnley Rovers (formed in connection with the Burnley Cricket Club), the Y.M.C.A. XV and the Burnley Grammar School Old Boys XV: in 1881 the Calder Vale Club came into existence.

Padiham seems to have the honour of being the first town in the district to possess a regular "Association Football" team, for, in 1879, the members of their "rugby" club decided to play the "soccer" game. Their example was followed in 1881 by all the Burnley clubs with the exception of Calder Vale, and the new football season, which opened in August 1882, saw the introduction of "Association Football" in Burnley. Many new clubs were formed—the "Burnley Club," connected with the Cricket Club and playing on the Calder Vale ground; the "Union Star," playing at Rake Head where a grand-stand costing £70 was erected in 1885; the "Olympia" at Queensgate; the "Wanderers," "Ramblers," "Burnley Lane Rovers," "Rangers," "Excelsior," "Lowerhouse," "Spring Hill," as well as others connected with churches, chapels, schools, mills and institutions. A league had not yet been formed so that all matches were played as "friendly" or in competition for the Hospital Cup or the Lancashire Cup. In 1882-3 the "Burnley Club" played against Accrington, Astley Bridge, and Blackburn Olympia; among the notable players of the earliest team were H. Bradshaw, Fergus Slater, J. W. Holden, C. E. Sutcliffe and W. Brown. These were succeeded by more local men—S.

Hargreaves, Wigglesworth, L. Metcalfe, T. Cross, C. Fielden, A. Birley, Harry Walton, and T. Midgeley. While they played at Calder Vale, the teams were trained by Dan Friel, a Scotsman engaged by the Accrington Club.

In January 1883, the Burnley Cricket Club, which had sponsored the formation of the Burnley Football Club for those of its members who desired an active winter sport, took over seven acres of land at Turf Moor adjoining the cricket field, allotted it to the football section, and presented £65 towards the initial expenses. The officials of the football club at the time were A. Jobling, chairman, G. Waddington, secretary, and W. Brown, treasurer. At its new home at Turf Moor, the team became an all-professional one drawn from Scotland, except Leonard Metcalfe, who was a Burnley man:—McClintock; Metcalf, Caulfield; Keenan, Friel, Shiel; Bryce, Crawford, Gemmell, Strachan, McCrae. The team now began to play the more important Lancashire clubs—Blackburn Rovers, Bolton Wanderers, Halliwell, Blackpool North Shore, Preston North End, and Manchester.

The principle of professionalism in football was quickly adopted by all clubs and by 1887 the Burnley Club had 25 professionals, including J. McDonnel, A. Lang, J. Abraham, A. McClintock, R. McCrae, W. McFetteridge, J. McNee, J. Murtagh, D. Waugh, D. Friel, R. Beattie, P. Gallogher (the "artful dodger"), J. Keenan, J. Hind, W. Place and F. H. Sugg (the cricketer). Brierfield had 13 professionals, Union Star had 13 professionals of local origin, Nelson had eight, and even Loveclough paid for the services of three members of their team. In an attempt to secure more Scottish players, one of the Burnley committee went to Dumbarton to persuade three players of the Vale of Leven to come to Burnley; he offered £2-£3 a week but had to take refuge in a public-house from a crowd of 500 men and women who had assembled "to guard their own." The Burnley representative promised not to return to Dumbarton.

Since the English Association did not recognise professionalism, instructions were sent in 1884 to all its affiliated clubs to cancel matches that had been arranged with teams partially or wholly composed of professionals. Consequently, two teams, Blackburn and Darwen, which always attracted a large crowd to Turf Moor, cancelled their fixtures and suggested that the committee should "get two men from Scotland to teach Burnley men how to play and so save the football game." The committee, however, called a meeting of all the affected clubs at Bolton in October 1884 and there the "British

Association" was formed. Fortunately the English Association withdrew the ban on professionalism and Burnley became one of its members.

Quarrels then broke out between the two sections of the Burnley Cricket and Football Club. In 1885 the cricket section complained that the footballers did not clean out the joint dressing room or repair broken railings and that they did not contribute any of their profits to make good the losses of the cricket season. Peace reigned for a short time under an agreement to share expenses and the income from the annual subscriptions of 10s. 6d. A new football committee was appointed—C. J. Massey, Joshua Rawlinson, T. Thornber, T. Crook and John Bradley who had done so much for football in its earlier years. In 1889 further differences appeared, chiefly due to the football season overlapping the cricket season; it was alleged that the cricket committee had vetoed a football "prize drawing" to be held in June and that the football committee did not publish a balance sheet. It was finally decided that the two sections of the Burnley Cricket and Football Club should separate:— (1) Each section to form and control its own club under its own name, (2) the football club to pay £77 per year as rent for their ground, (3) the football season to last from the beginning of October to the end of April. Mr. C. J. Massey was re-elected President; he resigned to allow Mr. Jabez Balfour, M.P. to occupy that position.

After its affiliation to the English Association, the Burnley football team began to play more distant clubs—Glasgow, Kilmarnock, Vale of Leven, Burslem Port Vale, Derby St. John's, Wolverhampton, Nottingham and Everton. At Nottingham in May 1886, the referee reported that the home team, playing seven from the "County" and four from the "Forest," had won by 3-1, but the Burnley players estimated their own victory at 3-2.

An outstanding advance in football organisation was made in 1888 with the formation of the English League of 12 clubs, one of which was the Burnley Club. The local team was not very successful and in 1889-90 finished eleventh in the league with four won, 13 lost, and five drawn; in the same season, however, Burnley won the Lancashire Cup by defeating Blackburn Rovers which had won the English Cup. The professionals in 1891 included Kay, Hillman, Walker, Lang, Stewart, White, Matthews, Speirs, McFetteridge, Keenan, Bowes, McLardie, Haresnape, Nichol, Hill, Graham, W. Place, and W. Lambie, the "best-ever centre-forward."

Meanwhile other Leagues had come into existence—the N.E. Lancs. League, in which the Burnley Swifts (the

second XI of the Burnley Club) and Brierfield played; the Lancashire League, in which Nelson appeared; the Burnley and District League with St. Matthew's; and Clegg's League with Belvedere, Brierfield United, Bankhouse, and Ormerod.

In 1893 the Burnley Football Club finished third in the English League with 14 Clubs and the Burnley Swifts headed the North East Lancashire League. That year was the best so far in the history of the Turf Moor teams, but unfortunately their good form was not maintained. In 1897, Burnley found itself at the bottom of the League table (16 Clubs) with five matches won, 21 lost, two drawn, 37 goals for and 109 against, but after one season in the Second Division, it was successful in the test matches to decide which teams should be asked to make up the First Division to 18 Clubs. After staying in the premier Division until 1901 it was once more relegated to the Second Division where it remained until 1913. The players who had most to do with Burnley's promotion were Dawson, who joined the team in 1906, Bamford 1908, Taylor 1912, McLaren 1909, Boyle 1912, Watson 1909, Moscrop 1913, Lindley 1908, Freeman 1900, Hodgson 1911, and Husband 1913; Freeman with 38 goals headed the list of goal-scorers in Division II and Hodgson with 20 goals was sixth. Other players were Gunton, Cameron, Bellamy, Reid, Charlton, Milligan and Pickering. On April 25th 1914 Burnley won the English Cup by a victory of 1-0 over Liverpool. The team on that occasion was R. Sewell; D. Taylor, G. Halley; W. Watson, T. Boyle, T. Bamford; E. Moscrop, E. Hodgson, C. Freeman, R. Lindley, W. Nesbitt. A civic welcome was given to the players on their return to Burnley and thousands of enthusiastic supporters lined the streets to cheer the victorious team. In the following year, the Burnley Club won the Lancashire Cup; the only previous occasion on which it had come to Burnley was in 1890.

In the season 1920-21 Burnley won the League Championship with 59 points and created records which so far have been unbeaten. On September 4th 1920, the team was at the bottom of the table but reached the top on November 20th; it suffered no defeat in 30 games between September 5th and March 25th and won 17 consecutive home games. The season's teams were drawn from Watson, Dawson, Kelly, Moscrop, Anderson, Smelt, Lindsay, Halley, Nesbitt, Boyle, Jones, Weaver, Taylor, Basnett, and Cross.

Ten years after winning the Championship of the League, the Burnley Club fell to the bottom of the table and was again relegated to the Second Division where it stayed until 1947. In that year it headed the Second Division and also

played in the final for the English Cup; unfortunately the Burnley team was not able to bring off "the double" by winning the Championship of its own Division and the Cup.

During the first twenty-five years of the Club's existence, the financial position was never very secure. During the very early period, the annual income was about £1,500, derived from a share in approximately 500 membership fees of 10s. 6d., donations of £200-£300, and "gates" of 4,000 spectators at 4d. each; there was only a very small balance left after expenses had been paid, including £900 for wages (30s. a week for each player during the season), and £200 for travelling. Whenever there happened to be a deficit, it was generally made good by "selling" one of the players. In 1889 the admission fee was raised to 6d. but the extra income from this source was absorbed by paying £150 in wages during the close season. More trouble occurred in 1890 when several of the best players became dissatisfied with their conditions of service so that the Committee had to increase the wages bill to £2,000; as a consequence, there was a deficit of £650 at the end of the year. To meet the overdraft at the Bank and enable the Committee to carry on during the summer, guarantors for £1,000 were found, and, for the first time, the suggestion of making the Club into a Limited Liability Company was seriously entertained. In the season 1891-2, the guarantors were again called upon to meet a large bank overdraft and in the following year there was a deficit of £469. Year after year, as the Club fell lower in the League table, losses grew heavier until in 1896-7 the receipts totalled only £4,744 against an expenditure of £5,062. The Committee therefore determined on June 5th 1897 to form the Club as a Limited Liability Company with 4,000 £1 shares paying 5%.

THE ARMY; (a) Regulars.

Burnley Barracks, built in 1819 during a period of economic distress at a cost of £5,500 of which nearly half was subscribed by local landowners and business-men, provided accommodation for troops whose services might be used to prevent local rioting. For many years only cavalry, usually two troops, were quartered in Burnley but after 1861 both cavalry and infantry were in occupation. Soldiers from Burnley were used in Colne, Accrington, Skipton and Burnley during the disturbances of 1819, 1820, 1840-3, and 1878. Each detachment of soldiers usually stayed six months; among the regiments represented were the Scots Greys, the 8th, 9th, 10th and 16th Lancers, the 3rd, 8th, 11th and 13th Hussars, the 5th Dragoon Guards, the 6th Inniskillen Dragoons, the 8th, 11th,

famous 33rd and 100th Regiment of Foot, the Connaught Rangers, the Black Watch, and the Dublin Militia. During the Crimean War 1854-6, a Piedmontese (Italian) regiment was quartered in the Barracks and was given a warm welcome as allied soldiers of England; after its return to London, a letter, sent to the "Lord Mayor of Burnley," asked for a "certificate of good conduct," which was duly given. In 1861 when the Barracks were abandoned for a time except for a sergeant and the librarian, it was thought that the army authorities had decided that Burnley should no longer be a "garrison town." By 1865, however, the troops had returned though the periods of occupation gradually became much shorter. In 1884 the buildings were finally vacated and were sold about 1897.

Probably the only people who regretted the change were the butchers and the wholesalers who supplied the stores. Most townsmen were only too glad to see the last of the soldiers, since the behaviour of some detachments often created alarm in the neighbourhood of public houses.

(b) Militia.

A Regiment of Militia was formed in Burnley in 1853 during the confused negotiations that preceded the outbreak of the Crimean War. Under the control of the Lord Lieutenant of the County, it trained for the defence of the country at regular intervals during peace-time, but in war-time it trained with the regular army, supplying it with reserves. The "Burnley Militia Regiment," known officially as the "5th Royal Lancashire Militia," took over the Wesleyan School in Keighley Green for its first annual training of 28 days, and paraded three times a day in a field near Duke Bar; the 1,200 men were billeted in public-houses, beer-shops, and dwelling houses in every part of the district. In 1854 the Militia Barracks were erected but, except for a few non-commissioned officers, the men were still "billeted out." In 1881 the 5th Royal Lancashire Militia Regiment became the "3rd East Lancashire Regiment." Eventually the headquarters of the old "Burnley Militia" were transferred to Preston and on June 15th 1907 the colours were deposited in St. Peter's Church. The regimental flag had been made and presented by Lady Caroline Towneley, whose husband was the first colonel of the regiment. Among other officers were Col. John Thursby, Col. Starkie, Major A. B. Creeke, and Lieutenant P. G. Hamerton.

During the Crimean War, the militia were on the same footing as the regulars and altogether some 800 Burnley men were drafted into regiments serving in the Crimea. To fill the gaps in the ranks of the Burnley militia, more men were recruited from this district. After the War, during which it

was recorded by high-ranking officers that they "never saw such chaps for fighting and working in the trenches," the survivors rejoined their old Burnley Regiment. Officers and men who were not drafted into the regular army took over garrison duty in Ireland at Clonmel and at Dublin.

During the Boer War 1899-1902 the regiment was ordered to go into training at Curragh Camp, Ireland and thence proceeded to South Africa where it guarded the lines of communication. In this War 123 officers and men of Burnley attached to the Militia and the Volunteers of East Lancashire were killed.

(c) Volunteers.

In 1859 fear of some dark design on the part of the French Emperor to invade England caused a wave of hostility to pass over the country. A Volunteer Army was established, coastal fortifications were strengthened, and England prepared for the onslaught. On October 18th and 26th 1859, meetings were held in Burnley and it was decided to form a rifle corps of 60 active members; 80 guineas were subscribed to meet expenses. Mr. John Dugdale was made captain, Mr. H. Moore lieutenant, and Mr. G. Slater ensign. The corps drilled first at the Bowling Green Inn and later at Keighley Green; the Hapton rifle range was taken over a little later.

The corps, officially the 17th Lancashire Rifles, increased in strength and by February 1860 a second corps had been formed. Each member at first bore the cost of his own uniform and made a large contribution for his rifle. By 1863 the 17th and the 4th Lancashire Rifles had been amalgamated to form a battalion with its headquarters in Rossendale. Burnley people were rather annoyed with the arrangement and therefore proposed to form a Burnley Artillery Corps of 160 men; this proposal, made in 1864, was not sanctioned by the War Office.

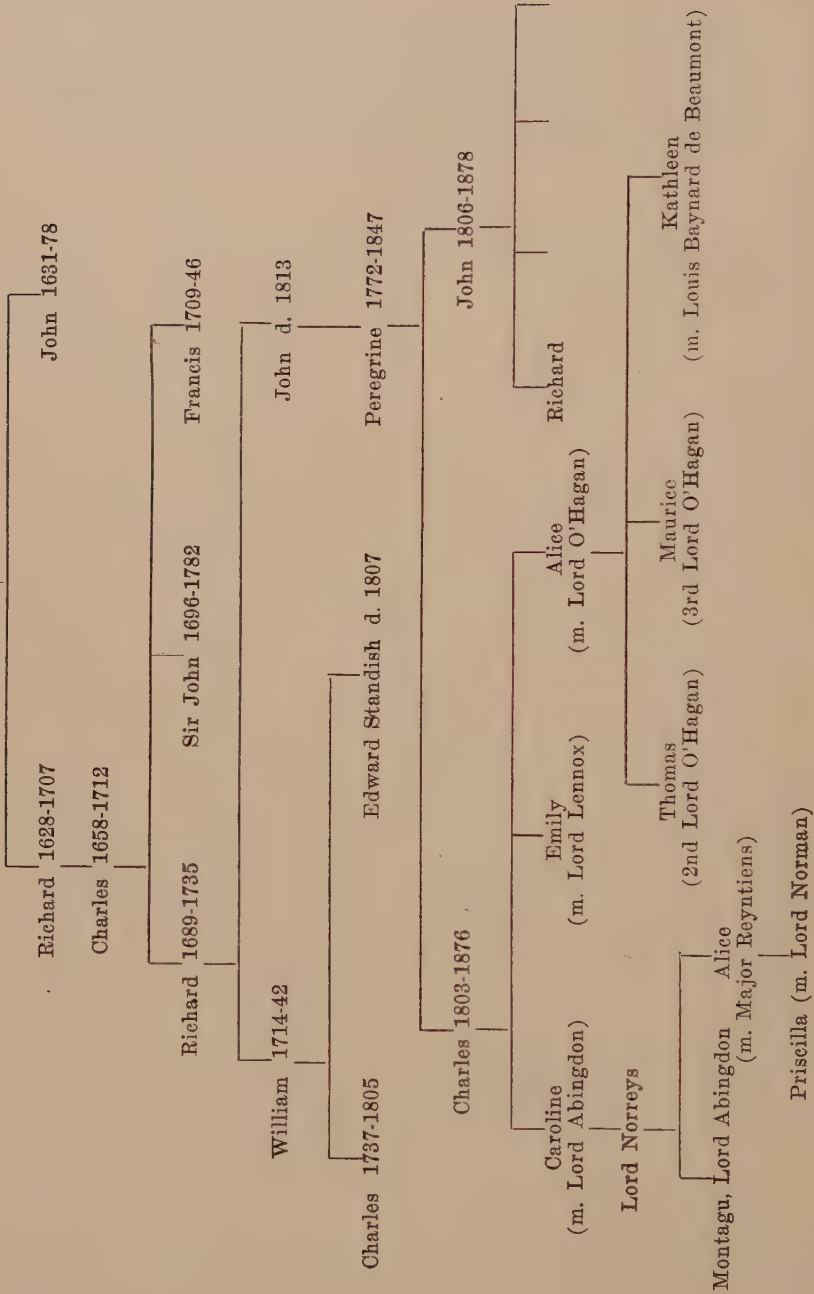
The 17th Lancashire Volunteer Rifles were very active in the town. A cricket club was formed in 1861 and played at Turf Moor; the band was one of the best that ever paraded the streets of Burnley and the concerts it arranged were always extremely popular.

(d) Territorials.

In 1907 the Volunteer organisation was completely changed and a new "Territorial Army," in which the old Volunteers and Militia were incorporated, was formed for the defence of England as a backing to the "Expeditionary Force." During the First World War 1914-1918, the Burnley territorials soon

went overseas and were joined by other volunteers in Kitcheners' Army; they fought on all fronts and nearly 2,500 Burnley men lost their lives. The events of the war years 1939-1945 are so recent that it seems unnecessary to chronicle here the work of Burnley men and women both in the fighting services and in the other national defence movements.

CHARLES 1600-1644



CHAPTER XIV.

**The Towneleys and the Shuttleworths,
1650 to the present.**

The history of the Towneleys up to 1650 has already been described. For 150 years after that date, as indeed for 100 years before it, their adherence to the Roman Catholic religion restricted their influence on local affairs, but the thrilling share they took in efforts to bring about a national restoration of Roman Catholicism has made their history almost romantic. It was not until the 19th century that the Towneley family once more took a leading part in the conduct of Burnley affairs. The genealogical table printed on the opposite page is limited to those members of the family who are mentioned in the text.

On the death of Charles Towneley in 1644 at the battle of Marston Moor, while fighting for Charles I against the armies of Cromwell, the Towneley estates descended to his eldest son, Richard, then 16 years old. Fines imposed on the family for their support of the royalist cause forced Richard to sell some of his land in Cliviger and Hapton as well as the whole of his estates at Nocton in Lincolnshire. In spite of such disasters and the general hostility to Roman Catholicism, Richard remained true to his Faith and waited patiently for a change in fortune. Of the children of Richard Towneley, two sons became monks, another became a secular priest and served the Lancashire Mission 1693-1733, and three daughters entered the English Augustinian Convent at Paris, where the father was described as "a most worthy Catholic gentleman and a friend of the Convent." During the troublous times of 1672-95 Richard often sought safety in France. He was a noted philosopher and mathematician and a friend of Cavendish; he also measured the rainfall at Towneley during the period 1677-1703, except for two years: the average annual rainfall was $42\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the wettest years were 1682 and 1686, each with 50 inches, and 1702 with 51 inches.

Richard Towneley 1628-1707, his son Charles 1658-1712, and his grand-son Richard 1689-1735 were all implicated in plots, riots and rebellions to support their Roman Catholic religion and the cause of the Catholic Stuart kings. In 1679,

Titus Oates, a man of little worth, invented the story of the "Popish Plot" which aimed, it was alleged, at the overthrow of Protestantism in England, and gave such convincing evidence of the truth of his statements that people believed him and he was heralded as the saviour of his country; some Catholics fled overseas, others were executed, and very many including Richard Towneley, were imprisoned. Within a year, the plot was proved to have been fictitious, and a reaction set in in favour of the Catholic Charles II and the Catholic Prince James, the heir to the throne. Richard Towneley was released from prison, and, believing that under James as king of England full recognition would be granted to Roman Catholicism, began to prepare for the official restoration of his religion in Burnley. He quarrelled with the Protestant Governors of the Grammar School over their choice of a headmaster and denied them the use of Towneley premises in the churchyard as a school; at the ensuing lawsuit, he won his case and the Governors had to erect another school building. On the accession of James in 1685, a rebellion broke out in the South-West of England in support of the Duke of Monmouth, the hope of the Protestants. The rebellion was crushed and Charles Towneley led the celebrations in Burnley with a bonfire, bell-ringing and ale-drinking. Some undignified brawling and bouts of fist-cuffs between the supporters of Towneley and the friends of the Protestant parson brought up the constable, who, having restrained the over-enthusiastic Catholic demonstrators, was himself arrested at the instigation of Charles Towneley.

Within a year or two, opposition to the despotic actions of the king roused considerable opposition in the country. Realising that trouble might ensue, and anxious to increase his armed supporters, James issued warrants to his Catholic friends to raise troops. On October 10th 1688 a warrant was issued to Richard Towneley "to become a Cornet in that Troop in which Charles Towneley is Captain in that Regiment of Horse which is forthwith to be raised by Colonel George Holman," and this was followed on October 29th by a warrant to "Captain Charles Towneley in the Regiment of Colonel Holman to raise Volunteers with horses to form a Company of 50 Troopers and Officers and to keep a Rendez Vous at Manchester." But the Statholder of Holland, William, and his wife, Mary, daughter of James II, who had been invited by all political parties to take over the English throne, landed in England on November 5th, and, early in December, James fled to France without making any attempt to save his position.

Some few months later, a general pardon was offered to those who had supported the exiled king, but the Towneley family was expressly excluded from its provisions; however,

Richard with his son Charles and his daughter Frances was allowed to return home to Towneley Hall. Here they remained, still loyal to the Stuart cause and waiting for the next stage in the struggle—the rebellion in Ireland and Scotland, or a general rising in the North of England. By a warrant issued from Dublin by James II on June 10th 1689, Charles Towneley became Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, empowered to appoint his own officers. This seems to have been the beginning of the so-called “Lancashire Plot” to enlist a rebel force of five regiments in London and Lancashire to overthrow the reigning monarchs. It is uncertain whether the conspiracy ever went beyond discussion but, at the enquiry which followed its discovery, it was alleged that Charles Towneley had attended a meeting of the rebel leaders at Standish Hall and had filled Towneley Hall with arms, pistols, swords and carbines. Much of the evidence was undoubtedly false and Charles Towneley was acquitted.

Richard Towneley died in 1707 and was succeeded by his son, Charles, then 49 years old. Charles died in 1712 and was succeeded by his son, another Richard, at the age of 23 years.

True to the Towneley tradition of loyalty to the Stuart cause, Richard became involved in the Jacobite rising of 1715, which had its main centres of activity in the Highlands of Scotland and the North-West of England. The Scottish rebellion was crushed at Sheriffmuir, but the English rebels marched on Preston and were there captured. Among the prisoners were Richard Towneley and his servant-tenants, William Harris, a shoe-maker, Joseph Pate, a labourer, Stephen Sagar, a labourer, and possibly James Appleton, yeoman, all Burnley men. Three of the men were acting as coachmen, postilion and butler to their master. Richard Towneley was tried in London for wearing the rebel colours and being in charge of a troop of twenty men, but he successfully pleaded that he had left Towneley Hall through fear of being driven out and had travelled to Kirkham, where he was seized by the rebels and taken against his wishes to Preston; there, he had been made prisoner by the Government troops. At his trial, the judge considered that the evidence proved his guilt but two juries acquitted him; three of his Burnley servants were, however, executed at Manchester.

His acquittal was by no means complete, for in 1716 he wrote to Mr. Richard Starkie at Furnival's Inn, London, asking him to intercede on his behalf with the government authorities against the action of two bailiffs who had taken possession of his house and “threaten to sell the small goods

I have procured for my poor children and throw them out of doors within a few days." Similar action was taken against the family of Lord Widdrington, whose daughter was the wife of Richard Towneley—"The family of the late Lord Widdrington are to receive nothing out of his immense estates, because their father was a Catholic."

Richard Towneley's later career is overshadowed by the more adventuresome lives of two of his brothers. Sir John Towneley 1696-1782 spent most of his life at the French court, where he was tutor to Prince Charles ("Bonnie Prince Charlie"); he was decorated with the Order of St. Louis, and proved his literary ability by translating "*Hudibras*" into French verse. He fought in the 1745 Rebellion, returned to France after Culloden Moor, and there rejoined the Prince. He died in London in 1782. Francis Towneley was particularly active in the same Rebellion for he was given the duty of raising troops in Lancashire to support the Prince on his march through the County. For this reason he left France before the Prince, made his way to Flintshire where he obtained a few supporters, and then came on to Towneley to recruit and train as many as possible of his brother's tenants; it is said that he also visited Gawthorpe during his stay in the district. When Prince Charles arrived at Manchester with his rebel army from Scotland, Francis Towneley met him with 200-300 men of the "Manchester Regiment," the only support the Prince received in Lancashire. After advancing as far as Derby, the rebel leaders made the fateful decision to return to Scotland and so lost all chance of success. At Carlisle, Towneley and the Duke of Hamilton were ordered to stay behind and fight a rearguard action, but though Francis made preparations to defend the town, the Duke hoisted the white flag from the Castle at the first sign of the Royal army. At the subsequent trial of the rebel ringleaders, Towneley denied the right of the Court to try him as he was a French officer, but the objection was overruled and, as he could not deny that he had worn the rebel badge, he was found guilty and executed. His head was fixed on Temple Bar and his body was buried in old St. Pancras Church. Later, one of the Towneley servants rode on a cartload of hay through the Bar and managed to take down the head. It was preserved at Towneley Hall until the later years of the 19th century and then sent to London; on August 12th, 1947, it found its last resting place in a Towneley vault in St. Peter's Church.

William Towneley succeeded to the estates in 1735 and died in 1742 at the age of twenty-eight. He married Cecilia

Standish, heiress to the Standish estates, so that on his death the eldest son, Charles, succeeded to Towneley, and his second son succeeded to the Standish property.

Charles Towneley 1737-1805 was educated at Douay and introduced into the highest circles of French society by his great-uncle John, Chevalier de St. Louis. He travelled widely and became a famous connoisseur and collector of works of art; his collection of statuary was possibly the finest private collection in Europe and was acquired by the British Museum for £20,000; his collection of coins was bought for £8,200. Charles Towneley was buried in St. Peter's Church. For two years 1805-7, his brother Edward Standish was the owner of Towneley; then, from 1807 to 1813 the estates were held by John Towneley, brother of William. He was succeeded by his son, Peregrine Edward Towneley.

Since the sixteenth century, the Towneley family had not taken any great part in local affairs and for long periods its members were absent from the district; moreover, a prominent position in public life was denied to them since no important public office could be held by a Roman Catholic. Such a disability was removed in 1828 and almost immediately Peregrine Edward Towneley was honoured by being made High Sheriff of Lancashire, a position last occupied by a Towneley three centuries before. The new holder of the Towneley estates took a leading part in the life of Burnley; he was the first Chairman of the Board of Guardians, and a President of the Mechanics'; he supported many local Societies, assisted in all relief schemes during times of distress, and helped considerably with the building of St. Mary's Church. His eccentric habit of dressing at times as a poor man, talking with poachers on his own estates, or, as a vagrant, making bids at a property sale, have often been described. He was certainly a man of business and no local trading, land, or financial company seemed complete without his name. He died in 1846 and was succeeded by his eldest son.

Charles Towneley 1803-76 was a Justice of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenant of the County and a High Sheriff. Like his father, he was keenly interested in local affairs and had many friends and acquaintances in Burnley; he was a President of the Mechanics' Institute, Colonel of the Militia, and supported agricultural and floral Societies. He owned "Butterfly" which won the Oaks in 1860, "Kettledrum," winner of the Derby in 1861, and "New Church," winner of the Doncaster Plate in 1863; on all occasions, the Church bells

were rung. The Colonel was also a famous breeder of short-horn cattle which took many national prizes; a Towneley-bred bull was sold for 1200 guineas but unfortunately it died on its way to Australia.

Charles had no sons and the succession therefore passed to his brother John who lived at Whitewell; John died in 1878, having resided at Towneley for only a few weeks. As Richard Henry, only son of John Towneley, had died in Rome from a fever in 1877, there were no male heirs to succeed to the family estates of 40,000 acres in Towneley, Burnley, Cliviger, Hapton, Whitewell, etc. A private Act of Parliament was therefore passed in 1885 allowing the three daughters of Charles and the three daughters of John to divide the estates on what was then regarded as an equitable basis. Towneley Hall and Park was granted to Alice Mary, youngest daughter of Charles.

The new holder was born in 1846 and married Lord O'Hagan, Privy Councillor and Attorney General 1861-5, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland 1868-74 and 1880-2, the first Roman Catholic to hold that position since the Reformation in the 16th century; of her sisters, one married Lord Norreys, and the other became the wife of Lord Lennox. Lady O'Hagan was perhaps the best known of all the later Towneleys for she devoted all her time and abilities to the service of humanity. She founded and maintained Societies for friendless girls, the deaf and dumb, and women in childbirth; she was a member of the Burnley School Board and held views on education that were far in advance of her times; she interested herself in the Co-operative Movement, particularly on its educational side, and was always ready and anxious to help all good causes. She possessed an exceptionally keen intellect and developed an independence of thought that led her eventually to break with the ancient tradition of her family by severing her connection with the Roman Catholic Church. She entertained at Towneley such great national figures as Professor A. V. Dicey, Sir Robert Ball, and Lord Rosebery, and at the same time could claim Dan Irving as one of her staunchest friends; all classes, in fact, sought her advice. During the South African War, she equipped and ran a military hospital at Nieuport and was awarded the South African Medal for her courageous service; it was in that War that she lost her eldest son. Unfortunately, it became increasing difficult to continue her financial support of charitable causes and, at the same time, maintain the upkeep of Towneley Hall, on the income derived from one-sixth of the original Towneley estates. When at last she decided to sell Towneley Hall and Park, she offered them at almost a

nominal sum to the town in which she had done so much good. After leaving Towneley, Lady O'Hagan went to live at the Hollins. At her death, the whole town went into mourning. Her son, the Right Honourable the Lord O'Hagan, and her daughter, the Honourable Mrs. de Beaumont, still retain a deep affection for their early home and have a keen interest in the life and progress of Burnley.

The award of 1885 allotted the Cliviger lands to the descendants of Caroline Theresa 1838-73, eldest daughter of Charles Towneley; she had married the Earl of Abingdon and the estates were therefore granted to her eldest son, Lord Norreys. From him, they passed to his daughter, Lady Alice Reyntiens, who lived at Dyneley and is so well remembered for her social activities in Burnley. Lady Norman, her daughter, is the present holder, and, like all the members of the Towneley family, takes a great interest in the town to which they have so long been attached.

TOWNELEY HALL.

The erection of Towneley Hall was probably completed in the early 15th century but so many alterations and additions have been made that it is extremely difficult to determine the internal plan of the original building. There is general agreement that it comprised a main hall, two wings, and a gatehouse with chapel, all built round a central courtyard. The hall, which served as a dining hall, was on the same level as the kitchen and had a small room at one end leading to the S.E. wing, i.e. the one nearest the War Memorial; this wing has walls six feet thick, which are considered to be the original ones. The N.W. wing (that nearest the drive leading to the golf-house) was doubtless similar to its counterpart but has been altered very considerably. On what is now the open side of the courtyard there was originally a gateway, and a chapel and sacristy, with a library on the second storey, the whole building being flanked with towers and detached from the two wings.

The first great alteration took place about 1626 when Richard Towneley took down the outside wall of the N.W. wing overlooking the courtyard and re-sited and rebuilt the wall so that the wing was only about half its former width and the courtyard was correspondingly larger. It is uncertain why such an alteration was made but the construction of a small dining room and a staircase leading to it may have some connection with the larger reconstruction. The next major change

occurred about 1700 and resulted in the demolition of the gateway, chapel, sacristy, and library. Tradition says that the present chapel is the one that was actually taken away from the gateway, but there is some evidence that it once occupied a site in the second storey of the N.E. wing. Whatever may be the truth about its original site, the chapel had been beautified with an oak pannelled ceiling 1473-1541 on which were carved the initials of Sir John Towneley and members of his family, with oak pannelled walls and sacristy door in 1601, and with an entrance door bearing the initials of John Towneley (died 1607) and of Mary, his wife. After removal from the original site, "the stonework, wainscote and everything to which the effects of consecration could be supposed to extend, having been preserved entire" were placed with religious reverence in their present position.

Further large alterations were carried out in 1725 by Richard Towneley. He partially demolished the main hall and reconstructed it as a classic entrance hall, running the full height of the building with pilasters supporting a deep entablature and a carved plaster ceiling. Most of the plaster and stucco work was done by two Italian artists, Concilio and Vasari, who did much work for the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim Palace. In 1726 the S.E. wing was reconstructed, the first floor being taken out in order that two lofty apartments, 20 feet high, might be made; at the same time, the outer walls of the wing were strengthened with diagonal buttresses, and turrets and battlements were added to give it additional dignity. The next major alteration took place about 1740 when William Towneley erected a new building to the west side of the outer wall of the N.W. wing, thus making it approximately equal to its former width.

The doorway was added 1805-7 and came from Standish Hall. Its inscription is in the form of a rebus and may be read as "R et Alis (the carving of) a "dish" STA T.W. Fec. A Dni MDXXX"; the translation is "Ralph and Alice Standish; T.W. made (this door) 1530." Ralph Standish (died 1538) married Alice, daughter of Sir James Harrington; the identity of "T.W." is unknown. The last addition to Towneley Hall was the four storied tower which was built in 1849-50.

THE SHUTTLEWORTHS.

Few Lancashire towns have the honour of having been intimately connected for many centuries with two families of such national importance as the Towneleys and the Shuttleworths. Both families have represented opposing factions in

the religious and civil quarrels that were fought with great bitterness before peace could be found; they have held the highest offices in the County, and, particularly in the 19th century, they have given their energies, sympathy and wealth to improve the moral and social conditions of the people of Burnley.

The Shuttleworth family, which is known to have lived at Gawthorpe as early as 1330, became prosperous landowners in the 14th and 15th centuries. In the late 16th century appeared the first important member of the family in the person of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 1541-1599, Sergeant at Law and Chief Justice of Chester; he bought the Manor of Barbon but lived during the later part of his life at Smithells, the home of his wife. At his death, the estates passed to his next of kin, his brother, Lawrence, who built Gawthorpe Hall but incorporated in it most of the original house, 1600-4. When Lawrence died in 1608, the whole of the Shuttleworth property, including Gawthorpe, Barbon, and Forcett, passed to his nephew Richard, then 21 years old.

Richard Shuttleworth 1587-1668 received his early education at the Burnley Grammar School, graduated at Oxford University, and became a barrister; he married Fleetwood Barton of Barton, heiress of the Barton estates and last of a family which could trace its descent back to 1212, with the great probability that it was living at Barton before the Norman Conquest. At home, Richard lived the normal life of a country gentleman, visiting the local markets and fairs, buying and selling cattle and corn, managing his estates and farms, meeting his friends at hostelrys, and enjoying an occasional visit to London and other cities. He was at Hoghton Tower in 1617 when James I stayed there for three days, and it is thought that he would have been expected to give a reluctant invitation to the King to visit Barbon, had not a fire (fortunately or otherwise) made that house uninhabitable for the time being. He became Sheriff of Lancashire in 1618, a position he occupied again in 1638. However, the times in which he lived were exciting, fraught with danger, and among the most important in the history of England, so that his powerful influence as a local landowner and magistrate forced him to take a lead in shaping the destiny of his country. In 1640 he was elected to represent Preston in the famous "Long Parliament" and, when war between King and Parliament was imminent, was made a Colonel and ordered to return to Gawthorpe to call out and train men for the defence of the Hundred of Blackburn against the royalist forces. Five of Richard's sons were distinguished officers in the local Parliamentary army. It has already been shown what success attended the troops under Shuttleworth's command and how

when Cromwell had won his final victory over the King, he took the lead in establishing the Presbyterian form of worship at St. Peter's and other local Churches. In 1656 Richard Shuttleworth was once again returned to Parliament as Preston's representative. This was the second Parliament that had been summoned during Cromwell's Protectorate, and from its start, the Protector, who desired moderation and tolerance, came into conflict with those of its members who were either rabid Republicans or intolerant Presbyterians; the result was that many members, possibly including the Presbyterian Shuttleworth, were excluded from Parliament. Meanwhile, Shuttleworth had carried on the work of the Civil War by holding courts which levied fines on royalist supporters or confiscated their estates. Finally, in 1660, the Stuarts were restored to the throne and the new King, Charles II, anxious to unite England, granted a pardon to all who had fought against his father.

Colonel Richard Shuttleworth died in 1669 and, as his eldest son, Richard (M.P. for Clitheroe in the Long Parliament and Captain in the Parliamentary forces) had died in 1648, the estates passed to the Colonel's grandson, another Richard, who was knighted by Charles II at Windsor in 1684. The acceptance of a knighthood from the King seems to imply that the Shuttleworth family under Sir Richard was prepared to accept the Stuarts and their policy, a theory supported by the fact that Sir Richard's son, again a Richard 1683-1750 (known as "Ready Money Dick"), was a Tory Member of Parliament for Lancashire in ten Parliaments 1705-49, and became the "Father of the House of Commons." At that time, most country squires were Tories, defending the Established Church against the Whig dissenters, and so critical of the home and foreign policies of the Whig leaders that they were regarded as Jacobites, anxious for the return of the Stuarts. The next heir to the Shuttleworth estates, James 1714-73 (a personal name that shows attachment to the Stuart cause), was also a Tory M.P. 1741-54 for Preston and 1761-68 for Lancashire. Under these conditions, the story that Francis Towneley visited Gawthorpe in 1745 to get recruits for the Jacobite rebellion seems almost certainly true though it is by no means established that his visit can be connected with a hoard of Spanish and Portuguese coins which was found at Gawthorpe many years later. James Shuttleworth lived for much of his time at Forcett, became High Sheriff for Yorkshire 1760, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert. The latter married a Huguenot lady, daughter of General Desaguliers, one of the King's Equerries. It was a romantic marriage for as Robert's father refused his consent to their engagement, the young couple eloped. The angry father followed but he was won over when he was captivated by a dainty foot he

saw stepping into a carriage outside their house; the lady was Mistress Robert Shuttleworth. Robert died in 1816, leaving two sons, James, who went to live at Barton, and Robert 1784-1818, who took over the rest of the Shuttleworth estates. This Robert was a Justice of the Peace and Chairman of the Preston Quarter Sessions; his greatest honour was to be known as "The People's Magistrate," for, unlike many of his fellow justices, he appreciated the conditions in which most offenders lived and therefore tempered his judgments with mercy. His only child was Janet who married in 1842 Dr. James Phillips Kay, son of Robert Kay of Brookshay, Bury; on his marriage, he assumed the name of Kay-Shuttleworth.

James Phillips Kay was born in 1804 at Rochdale and had a nonconformist upbringing based on religious zeal, industrious habits, simple tastes, and earnest purpose. He became a medical student at Edinburgh University where he had abundant opportunity to study the dangers of moral and physical evils which corrupted the lowest strata of the working classes. After qualifying, he was elected Senior Physician at the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary and was thus brought into contact with one of the poorest districts in Manchester. The improvement of social conditions now became his main object, for he realised that little could be done by medical science in the fight against disease so long as people lived in crowded conditions in cellars and tenements that were damp, airless, and devoid of sanitation. He considered that the problem must be attacked from two sides. In the first case, legislation must be passed to insist on a minimum standard in the construction of house property; the cost of living must be reduced by introducing the principle of free trade; and a much more efficient system of education for children and adults must be made possible. At the same time, the masses must keep their self-respect by following the principle of self-help, and unite to abolish the evils among them.

In 1835, Mr. Kay became an Assistant Commissioner in Norfolk under the Poor Law Board and was there able to study the conditions in workhouses and the migration of country families to the cotton towns. He effected many valuable reforms in the workhouses but it was to the workhouse schools that he gave most attention, for he saw that education alone gave a pauper child the only way of escape from his condition. Bad teaching was the gravest defect in the pauper schools, and, as there were no teachers' training colleges in England, Mr. Kay invited two trained teachers from Scotland to take charge of his Norfolk workhouse schools. Beneficial results were immediate and the schools soon showed what educational training could do for scholars. The educational side of Mr. Kay's

work now took precedence over everything else and in 1837 he was appointed Secretary to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, which had just been brought into being. That Committee eventually became the Board of Education. The training of teachers became of paramount importance to the Secretary and for that purpose he founded the Battersea Training College and for some time directed its courses of study. To him more than to any other man belongs the credit of arousing the country to the need for efficient teachers with an adequate training. In 1849 he resigned his office on account of ill-health, and was raised to the dignity of Baronet for his able, enlightened and laborious exertions in the cause of education.

Meanwhile, in 1842, Mr. Kay had married Miss Janet Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe and had assumed the surname of Kay-Shuttleworth. Miss Shuttleworth had always interested herself in local social work and with the Dugdales had founded and maintained Habergham School and Church. Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth, now retired from Government service, gave all his energies to the cause of local education. The Padiham Trade School was opened in 1854 to embrace a wider curriculum than the elementary school and provide for the higher education of the artisan class; it hoped to create an educated class of workers who could not be regarded as part of an employer's machinery. He took the keenest interest in the Mechanics' and Church Institutes and founded the East Lancashire Union of Institutes so that the united funds of all the Institutes might secure trained teachers to teach the higher branches of knowledge to adults. Mr. Kay himself appointed the organising masters and inaugurated the day and evening classes and so made the Mechanics and the Church Institutes live centres of adult education. Sir James always maintained that the State and Town Authorities must offer facilities to the workers to raise themselves out of their appalling conditions but that it was incumbent on the workers themselves to use all their exertions to that end; only in that way could they keep their self-respect. This view was exemplified during the Cotton Famine when Sir James, who was Vice-Chairman of the Lancashire Relief Committee and contributed large sums to the relief funds, insisted that relief, as far as possible, should only be given in return for work; for that purpose, relief works, schools, and sewing classes were opened.

Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth died in 1897 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ughtred James. The new baronet was born in 1844 and was educated at Harrow and London University. He inherited the outlook and high ideals of his parents. He entered Parliament in 1869 for Hastings and

represented that constituency until 1880; five years later he was elected for the Clitheroe Division of N.E. Lancashire and remained its representative until 1902. He held high office under Mr. Gladstone and became Under-Secretary of State for India, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty 1892-5; he was also Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee 1888-92, and Chairman of the Royal Commission on Canals and Waterways 1906-11. For all his great public service, he was created a Baron in 1902. This was followed in 1908 by his appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire, a position he occupied with great skill and dignity for twenty years.

Lord Shuttleworth was a great national administrator and educationalist, but it was for his philanthropy that he is best remembered in Burnley. His great work for the Victoria Hospital, where he founded a cancer research clinic, the 'Mechanics', of which he was a President, the Grammar School, to which he gave scholarships, the Padiham Technical School, which was built through his generosity—all these and many more Institutions owe their foundation or their survival to the benevolence of Lord Shuttleworth; nor will Burnley forget his gift of land which formed the basis for Igthenhill Park. Lady Shuttleworth, who died in 1924, initiated the work of the House of Help, formed a District Nursing Association in Padiham and Habergham (amongst the earliest in all England), and founded numerous welfare societies and centres.

The two World Wars brought grievous losses to the Shuttleworth family. The two sons of Lord Shuttleworth were both killed in 1917—Lawrence, Captain in the R.F.A.- and Edward James, Captain in the Rifle Brigade. Lawrence's son, Richard Ughtred Paul, born in 1913, succeeded his grandfather in 1939, became a Flying Officer in the R.A.F.V.R., and was killed in 1942; his brother, Ronald, Captain in the R.A., then succeeded as 3rd Baron but was killed in action in North Africa in the same year. The present and 4th Baron, Charles Ughtred John, M.C., Major in the R.H.A., is the son of the Hon. Edward James, who was killed in 1917. The Hon. Rachel Beatrice Kay-Shuttleworth, 3rd daughter of the 1st Lord Shuttleworth, carries on the great work of her parents and is well known throughout Lancashire for her unremitting efforts towards the welfare and culture of all classes, particularly of young people.

CHAPTER XV.

Conclusion.

The earliest chapters of this History of Burnley described our area in prehistoric times when people lived, hunted, died, and were buried with religious rites on the wild uplands; then, following the Roman period, they dealt with the arrival of English settlers who first gave the name of "Burnley" to a little hamlet on the banks of the Brun. That group of three or four farmsteads, surrounded by woods and rough moorland, existed over a thousand years ago and was the origin of our present County Borough of Burnley. We can all justifiably take pride in the length of the town's history.

The development from hamlet to village, and from village to the pleasant and isolated market town of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, was very slow; afterwards its growth was rapid, for the Industrial Revolution brought into being a town of mills and smoking chimneys, of mean streets and wretched dwellings, that quickly destroyed the natural beauties of the rivers, footpaths, fields and woodlands. This book shows how the worst features of that early 19th century have been abolished in order to rebuild a town that is worthy of its long traditions.

Though customs and habits have changed through the course of time, the forthright courage of the people of Burnley has remained unaltered through the centuries. A spirit of endurance and enterprise enabled Burnley to survive when a livelihood could be found only by laborious work on the farms; it supported the people in Tudor days of famine and plague; it remained unbroken in the wretchedness of the Industrial Revolution; it is the same spirit that has created the present town. And with the spirit of endurance and enterprise, there has always been present a determination to maintain an independence of thought and action that has hated and denounced both the tyrant and the sycophant, refused to submit to privileged bodies, and insisted on controlling the affairs of the community. From the ancient days of the Halmot Court when Burnley men first made their own byelaws for the good of all, punished those who worked harm, and fought local landlords who tried to take away their rights, the love of freedom and independence never died although, at times, it had to submit to stronger forces. It is impossible to recount all the cases in

which the spirit of freedom was the incentive to action. Perhaps it is sufficient to remember that it led Burnley men to fight for Parliament in the Civil War; it accounted for the rise of so many nonconformist bodies; it urged workers to press incessantly for recognition of their trade unions; finally, it abolished the old local government by the Church Vestry and brought into being the Improvement Commissioners, and, ultimately, the Borough Council.

In short, and to paraphrase Burnley's motto — "*Pretiumque et causa laboris*," the present town is the result of the efforts of its people and the reason for their exertions.

APPENDIX I.

Ex-Mayors of Burnley.

1862-63	John Moore.	1911-13	Elijah Keighley.
1863-64	John Barnes.	1913-15	James Sellers Kay.
1864-66	William Robinson.	1915-18	Andrew Macgregor Sinclair.
1866-67	James Folds.	1918-20	Roger Hargreaves.
1867-69	William Lomas.	1920-22	Edwin Whitehead.
1869-71	John Barnes.	1922-25	John William Clegg.
1871-73	John Hargreaves Scott.	1925-27	James Sutcliffe.
1873-75	John Massey.	1927-29	Henry Lees.
1875-77	William Thompson.	1929-31	Henry Robinson Nuttall.
1877-79	William Robinson.	1931-33	Robinson Place.
1879-81	John Howorth.	1933-34	Lawrence Rippon.
1881-83	Henry Deighton Fielding.	1934-35	John Henry Heap.
1883-85	John Baron.	1935-36	George Parkinson.
1885-87	George Keighley.	1936-37	James William Gradwell.
1887-88	George Sutcliffe.	1937-38	Arthur Green.
1888-89	James Greenwood.	1938-39	James Alfred Sampson.
1889-91	Thomas Thornber.	1939-40	Mrs. Marie Brown.
1891-93	William Parkinson.	1940-41	John Thomas Clegg.
1893-95	Christian Mitchell.	1941-42	Richard Broadley.
1895-96	William Collinge.	1942-43	Miss Alice Fearnough.
1896-98	Caleb Thornber.	1943-44	Samuel Taylor.
1898-		1944-45	Thomas Park Taylor.
1900	William Dickinson.	1945-46	Reuben Hudson.
1900-02	Thomas Burrows.	1946-47	Ronald Bushby.
1902-03	Thomas Thornber.	1947-49	William Buchanan.
1903-05	Albert Carrington.	1949-50	John H. Bracewell.
1905-07	Hartley Emmott.	1950-51	Ernie Brodrick.
1907-09	William Hough.	1951-	Tom Maxfield.
1909-11	James Mitchell Grey.		

APPENDIX II.

Results of Parliamentary Elections.

1868	Shaw, Richard	2620	1918	Irving, D. D.	15217
	Scarlett, Sir J. Y.	2238		Mulholland, H. G. H.	12289
1874	Shaw, Richard	3066		Grey, J. H.	8825
	Lindsay, W. A.	2490	1922	Irving, D. D.	17385
1876	Rylands, Peter	3520		Camps, H. E. J.	14731
	Lindsay, W. A.	3077		Layton, W. T.	12339
1880	Rylands, Peter	3943	1923	Irving, D. D.	16848
	Talbot, Lord Edmund	3217		Camps, H. E. J.	14197
1885	Rylands, Peter	4866		Whitehead, J.	13543
	Wainwright, H. H.	4199	1924	Henderson,	
1886	Rylands, Peter	4209		Rt. Hon. A.	24571
	Greenwood, James	4166		Camps, H. E. J.	17534
1887	Slagg, John	5026	1924	Henderson,	
	Thursby, J. O. S.	4481		Rt. Hon. A.	20549
1889	Balfour, J. S.	Unopposed		Fairburn, S. I.	16084
1892	Balfour, J. S.	6450		Whitehead, J.	8601
	Lawrence, Edwin	5035	1929	Henderson,	
1893	Stanhope,			Rt. Hon. A.	28091
	the Hon. Philip	6199		Fairburn, S. I.	20137
	Lindsay, W. A.	5506		Edwards, A. J. G.	12502
1895	Stanhope,		1931	Campbell,	
	the Hon. Philip	5454		Rear-Adml. G.	35126
	Lindsay, W. A.	5133		Henderson,	
	Hyndman, H. M.	1498		Rt. Hon. A.	26917
1900	Mitchell, William	6773		Rushton, James	512
	Stanhope,		1935	Burke, W. A.	31160
	the Hon. Philip	6173		Campbell, Vice-Adml.	26965
1906	Maddison, Fred	5288	1945	Burke, W. A.	32122
	Arbuthnot, G. A.	4964		Milnes, H. H. M.	18431
	Hyndman, H. M.	4932	1950	Burke, W. A.	30685
1910	Arbuthnot, G. A.	5776		Wilson, F. H.	23626
	Maddison, Fred	5681		Whittaker, W.	526
	Hyndman, H. M.	4948		Carradice, D.	295
1910	Morrell, Philip	6177			
	Arbuthnot, G. A.	6004			
	Hyndman, H. M.	3810			

APPENDIX III.

The Borough Coat of Arms.

The Burnley Coat of Arms was designed in 1854 for the Improvement Commissioners by a Mr. Broughton of Bury and was adopted in 1862 by the Town Council. The following description of the original design is given in non-heraldic language. The shield was gilded; at the top, on a wavy strip of silver, was depicted an open right hand with a bee on each side of it; below were two diamond shapes on each side of a green chevron with serrated edges. On the chevron was a small gilded circle and below it was a purple lion with red tongue. The crest was a crane surmounting a helmet and heavy scroll work.

Since its adoption in 1862 by the Town Council, various alterations have been made in the design; finally, in 1916, the College of Heraldry accepted the present simpler and less colourful coat of arms. The top of the shield is now black and on it are two bees, representing "the industrious workers," and an open hand, implying "Justice and Honesty"; the wavy border refers to the "Brun." The two diamond shapes are black and represent "spindles" on which Burnley's prosperity depended in 1854. The chevron is red, and the small circle, representing a bezant or Eastern coin implying "Wealth," has disappeared. The lion is the "De Lacy Lion," recalling the fact that Burnley was originally dependent on the Norman De Lacies; the lion is now black. The crest is a crane, denoting "Vigilance"; it is standing on a heap of raw cotton and holds in one foot a piece of coal, and in its beak a cotton flower.

The motto "*Pretiumque et causa laboris*" is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* IV 739. The poem deals with the story of Andromeda who was chained to a rock on the seashore to be devoured by a sea-monster; at the critical moment, Perseus appeared and rescued the maiden, her father having promised her to him in marriage. Andromeda was therefore "the prize as well as the cause of his labour." Applied to Burnley, the phrase implies that the town is both the reward and the reason for the exertion of its people.

Additions and Corrections.

The Illustrations.

The illustration of the ancient Market Place is taken from a drawing made by the Rev. S. J. Allen, who was Dr. Whitaker's amanuensis during the compilation and writing of the "History of Whalley" (approximately 1790-1800); the Rev. Allen was later 1834-8 a Headmaster of the Burnley Grammar School. The date of the drawing lies in the first decade of the 19th century, for Bank Hall, shown in the background, was built in 1800, and the farm or barn, shown on the left fore-front, was taken down when the churchyard was extended and enclosed in 1810. Behind the barn and within the present churchyard was the old chantry house and grammar school and a private garden. The post near the market cross may be the whipping post of the late 16th or early 17th century. The bridge shown in the illustration appears to be the one built in 1736. The old houses were taken down in 1881 and at the same time the cross and stocks were removed. The original drawing is now in Salmesbury Hall.

The illustrations of Hill Top and Finsleygate show the type of dwellings erected before 1854. Cellar dwellings may be seen in Finsleygate. The illustration of Branch Road shows the typical street of the late 19th century. They may be contrasted with an avenue in a Corporation Housing Estate.

The illustration of the Centre of 1875, before steam trams were introduced, shows on the left "Munn's Corner" at the top of Water Street; on the right may be seen the Clock Face, the Boot Inn, and one or two cottages, one of which was once a post office; the lamp post in the fore-ground is the "Gaumless"; it stood in the middle of the roadway at the junction of Manchester Road, Bridge Street and St. James's Street.

Part I, page 19 and page 143.

In June 1950 the writer discovered a stone circle on Mosley Height, about 150 yards from the Long Causeway; it was excavated in the following August by the Burnley Historical Society. The circle, 14 yards in diameter, was composed of 18 large boulder stones; a number of smaller boulder stones within the circular area formed the shape of a rough horseshoe with the opening to the west. At a depth of 7-8 inches below

the surface, a pavement of irregular stones was found lying on a brown clay. This was the Bronze Age "flooring." There were four cists, three of which contained urns, cremated bones and charcoal. The central cist, two feet in diameter and three feet deep, was lined with stones and contained packed clay and small stones surrounding an inverted urn. This urn, 7½ inches high, has a narrow collar with crude decorations and is apparently of the early Middle Bronze period; the cremated bones inside the urn are those of a young adult person. A second cist, adjacent to the central cist and west of it, contained an inverted urn, 5 inches high, with a deep and well decorated collar; it contained charcoal and traces of bone. A third cist, rather shallow, 4 feet N.E. of the centre of the circle, contained cremated bones but no urn. The fourth cist, 9 feet N.N.E. of the centre, contained an urn and cremated bones; the pottery had disintegrated and only the broken rim and a few other fragments could be recovered. A layer of charcoal, covering an area of approximately 15 square feet, was found about 9 feet N.E. of the centre; this was evidently the site of the funeral pyre. Many stone and flint implements and weapons were discovered lying both between and underneath the pavement stones. They included 2 rubbing stones for grinding grain, parts of a flat quern, 3 hand hammers, a pestle, 8 "thumb" scrapers, 8 other scrapers, 5 arrow heads (three of them being of a very early type), 4 "pot-boilers," and 5 knives; other interesting finds included 2 pieces of Kimmeridge shale (domino shape and size), probably the raw material for making ornaments, and a disc of sandstone (size of a half-penny).

All the finds are deposited in the Towneley Hall Museum.

Part I, page 21, 1st paragraph.

The earthwork overlooking Thursden Valley was excavated in July 1950 by Mr. T. G. E. Powell, Head of the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, Liverpool University. No evidence was found that it was a burial site, and the only "find," made during the digging on the outer edge of the mound in the Eastern part, was a fine specimen of a stone axe head of the Bronze Age. The site may be classed as a "religious enclosure."

Part I, page 37.

1. Insert under "Elevation"—Red Lees. "Red" is a corruption of "Reved," meaning "Head." The place name means "the fields at the head or top of the hill." (Compare "Red Lane" in Colne).

2. Correct "Reedley Hallows." "Reedley" means "the field full of reeds." "Hallows" is derived from "Halghho" 1440, meaning "the place at the head (ho) of the halgh or stream. Reedley Hallows was originally that part of Reedley near Marsden Road.

Part I, page 93, line 2.

For "New Sparrow Hawk" read "The Central Garage, Church Street." The Inn was demolished before this book was written.

Part I, page 96, lines 23-26.

An examination of the Towneley Rental of 1536 shows that Canon Raines' reading of "Collyn Horse" should be "Collyn House" (in Hapton). Other unpublished Towneley documents also refer to "Collin House." There is therefore no direct evidence that miracle plays were performed in Burnley.

Part II, page 10, line 22.

A correspondent to the "Burnley Express," May 9th, 1874, wrote that the Parsonage was originally surrounded by ancient trees and beautiful walks. The ancient porch with two side stone seats was demolished many years ago to make room for a rectangular additional room; old mullioned windows and one gable have remained up to the present, but the house has been untenanted for many years. It is now (1874) being demolished to make room for a warehouse for Smallpage at the Parsonage Mill.

Part II, page 12, lines 18-20.

Windle Court was situated off Slater Street, Westgate; Winn Alley was near Butterworth and Dickinson's Westgate Shed, Sandygate.

Part II, page 13, line 4, and page 57, line 35.

"Carey's" Farm is so named from a former occupant. The name is not therefore connected with "Kerriall."

Part III, page 208, lines 11-15.

The Three Tons was later known as the Lord Nelson and is now known by the name of the White Hart.

Part III, page 291, line 13 and line 14.

For "53,000" read "5,300," and for "13,000" read "1,300."

Part III, page 327, line 33.

For "1847" read "1874."

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